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PREMODERN *YOGĀSANAS* AND MODERN POSTURAL PRACTICE: DISTINCT REGIONAL COLLECTIONS OF *ĀSANAS* ON THE EVE OF COLONIALISM

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Abstract

In this chapter, we formulate a corpus of premodern praxis manuals on yoga that were composed in the 18th and 19th century in rudimentary Sanskrit and vernacular languages, which were likely documenting collections of yoga postures (*āsana*) current among practitioners of the time. Much of their detailed, praxis-focused content does not occur in the scholarly Sanskrit yoga treatises that predate them, and yet most of these manuals have received little attention in academic publications. Our analysis and comparative study of this material has identified three distinct collections of complex *āsana* that can be located to different geographical regions of India on the eve of colonialism. This research provides evidence for premodern *āsana*s that crossed sectarian and linguistic divides and were adopted by the gurus who popularised yoga in the early 20th century. This latter issue underlies contemporary debates on the continuity of modern postural yoga within the Indian tradition. Until this study, clear lines of transmission from premodern teachings on *āsana* to modern postural yoga have eluded academic research.

KEYWORDS

Yoga, *Āsana*, Modern Postural Yoga, Haṭhayoga, Yogis, Mahāmandir, Mysore, Sivananda Yoga, Krishnamacharya, Buddha Bose, Bikram Yoga, Udaimandir.

Introduction

The research for this chapter was prompted by our assessment of the similarities between the *āsana*s in three seemingly unrelated works. The first, the *Yogāsana*, is an unpublished 19th–century manuscript with textual passages in Sanskrit, Hindi, and Gujarati and illustrations of Jain ascetics performing one hundred and eight postures. The second, the *Caurāśī Āsana*, is a late 19th-century printed book in Hindi that depicts Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava ascetics in ninety-eight postures. We will demonstrate that most of the *āsana*s in this collection are identical in name and form to those published in the widely disseminated book, *Yoga Asanas* (1934), which was written in English by Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh. Sivananda's publication was influential in the formation of "modern postural yoga,"[1] owing to the international success of the Divine Life Society and the spread of Sivananda Yoga as a style of practice (Strauss 2005, Newcombe 2019). Until now, the names and forms of most *āsana*s in this publication had yet to be traced to earlier textual sources, making it difficult for scholars to scrutinise the contribution of premodern theory and praxis to modern postural yoga. We have since found a third, independent textual source for this same collection of *āsana*s, which is a Sanskrit passage probably from a premodern work that was quoted without attribution in a 20th-century publication.

When this new evidence is examined in conjunction with other contemporaneous textual and material sources, such as the *Jogapradīpyakā* (Gharote 1999 and Bühnemann 2007: 28, 38–41), the murals of the Mahāmandir and Udaimandir in Jodhpur (Bühnemann 2007: 102–110), and the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (Birch 2018: 135–137), it is possible to distinguish three distinct collections of *āsana*s which are likely to have been practised by yogis of the 18th and 19th century in particular regions of India.

This chapter will establish that several prominent gurus at the forefront of the revival of postural practice in the early 20th century, namely Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh, Buddha Bose and Bishnu Ghosh of Calcutta, and T. Krishnamacharya of the Mysore Palace, drew upon two of these premodern collections. In distinct ways, each of these gurus adapted and combined premodern *āsana*s and concepts of praxis with their contemporary knowledge of yoga, science, and physical culture.

[1] On the definition of "modern postural yoga," see Elizabeth de Michelis 2004.

Classifying Collections of *Āsana*s in Scholarly Works and Praxis Manuals

Of the yoga texts that record substantial assemblages of *āsana*s, two styles of composition can be distinguished. The first might be called scholarly works. The composite collections of *āsana*s in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and *Haṭharatnāvalī* are good examples, as discussed by Birch (2020: 461, 467–468). The learned authors of each of these works, who were active in the 17th century, compiled large collections of postures to address references to eighty-four *āsana*s in earlier yoga texts, such as the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* and *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* (Birch 2018: 107–108). The result is a bricolage of textual sources that appears more the product of scholarly exegesis rather than a didactic account of how yogis might have practised large numbers of complex *āsana*s. This is most easily discerned in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, which cites its multiple textual sources by name (Birch, forthcoming).

In contrast to the syncretic styles of these scholarly works, there exist various manuals composed in more rudimentary and internally uniform styles of Sanskrit and Brajbhasha. Examples include the *Jogapradīpyakā* (18th century), *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (*circa* 18th century), and *Yogāsana* (*circa* 19th century). The collections of *āsana*s in these works, which will be the focus of this chapter, do not appear to be a synthesis of earlier textual sources. Their authors do not borrow nor cite passages on *āsana*s from other yoga texts and, as far as we know, many of the complex postures in these manuals are not attested in earlier works nor sculptural representations.

The existence of contemporaneous and independent textual and material sources suggests the likelihood that these manuals were documenting collections of *āsana*s current among practitioners of the time. One can use these diverse sources to identify three distinct, but mutually inclusive, collections of *āsana*s. Two were known in North India (in particular, Rajasthan), and the third in the South (Maharashtra and Karnataka). It is probable that all three collections, which we shall henceforth designate A, B, and C, respectively, were practised prior to British rule in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

In this context, we are using the term "collection" to refer to a set of *āsana*s distinguished by a large portion of postures unique to it in both name and form. Almost all of the sources for a particular collection are independent and distinct insofar as their expositions of the *āsana*s are not replicas of one another and differ to some extent regarding the total number, order, and types of postures. Nonetheless, each source contains most of the unique *āsana*s of the collection to which we have ascribed it.

Collection A

The *āsana*s of Collection A are attested in four sources:[2]

1. *Jogapradīpyakā* (1737 CE[3]).
2. An illustrated manuscript at the British Library, Ms. No. Add. 24099 (pre-1858 CE[4]).
3. *Yogāsanamālā* (1790 CE[5]).
4. Two illustrated folios from an unidentified manuscript of the *Prahlādacaritra* of Jaṅgopāla.[6]

Apart from describing many of the same distinct postures, the premodern sources of Collection A originate from a particular region of North India spanning from Khatipura

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[2] There are possibly two other texts which document *āsana*s of this collection, namely, the *Āsananāmāni* and the *Āsanayogagrantha.* We are yet to consult either of these works which are reportedly held at the Maharaja Sawai Mansingh II Museum, Jaipur and have been briefly described in Gharote et al. 2006: lxiii. Although Gharote has not described the content of these two works in detail, he groups their *āsana*s with those of the *Jogapradīpyakā* (2006a: xxxiii). He also reports that the *Āsanayogagrantha* was composed in *saṃvat* 1801, *vaiśākha śuddha* 14 (i.e., 1744 CE) and the manuscript copied in *saṃvat* 1801 *vaiśākha navamī* (Gharote et al.: 2006: lxiii).

[3] A colophonic verse at the end of the *Jogapradīpyakā* (957) gives the date as *saṃvat* 1794 *āśvinaśukla* 10, which is 4th October 1737 CE.

[4] A handwritten comment on the first folio of this manuscript (British Library, Ms. No. Add. 24099) states that it was taken from the library of the Mahārāṇī of Jhansi when her fort was sacked by British forces in 1858. The illustrations of this manuscript have been published by Bühnemann 2007: 41–63. Bühnemann (2007: 39) reports that Losty dates the manuscript to about 1830.

[5] The one available manuscript of the *Yogāsanamālā,* which is held at the Rajasthān Prācya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur, was completed on Wednesday, 1.20.1790 CE (*miti mahīṣa sudī 5 budhavasare saṃvat* 1846).

[6] These two folios contain illustrations of Vaiṣṇava ascetics performing twenty-five *mudrā*s and twenty-four *āsana*s, the last of which is numbered eighty-four. The names of the *mudrā*s and *āsana*s, and even the order in which they are shown, correspond exactly to the descriptions of *mudrā*s and *āsana*s in the *Jogapradīpyakā.* Two relevant folios, which would presumably depict *āsana*s 1–59, are missing. We are yet to consult this manuscript of the *Prahlādacaritra,* which is apparently held at the headquarters of the Dādūpanthī sect in Naraina (New Delhi). We would like to thank James Mallinson and Monika Horstmann for images of these two folios and the information about them.

(Jaipur)[7] and Vrindavan[8] to the Punjab.[9] This collection consists of over one hundred *āsanas*[10] and is distinguished by many, complex seated, forward-folding, inverted, and supine postures, and the details of the diseases cured by them (Birch 2018a: 46–47). In particular, it includes close to a dozen *āsanas* in which the yogi balances on the sitting bones (i.e., ischial tuberosities) with the arms and legs raised in various positions. Examples of this can be seen in Figures 1 and 2.

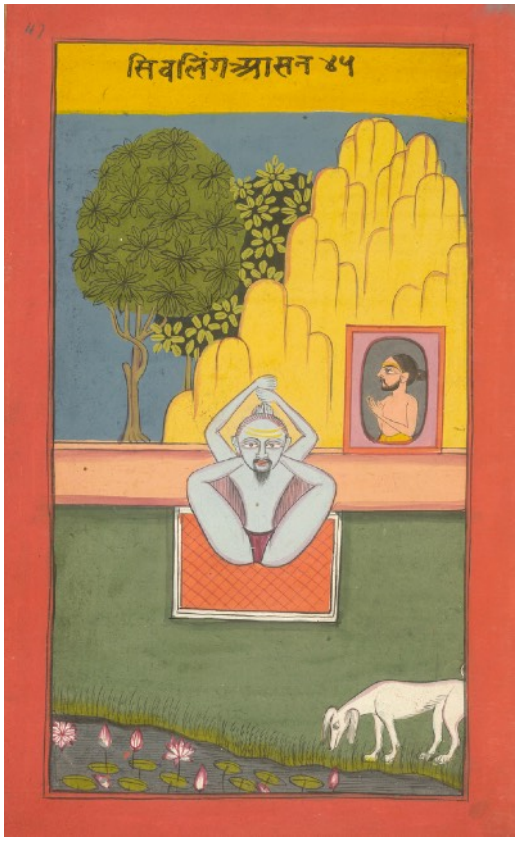

Figure 1: *Śivaliṅga āsana* (no. 45) of the illustrated *Jogapradīpyakā*, Add MS 24099, f. 47. © British Library Board.

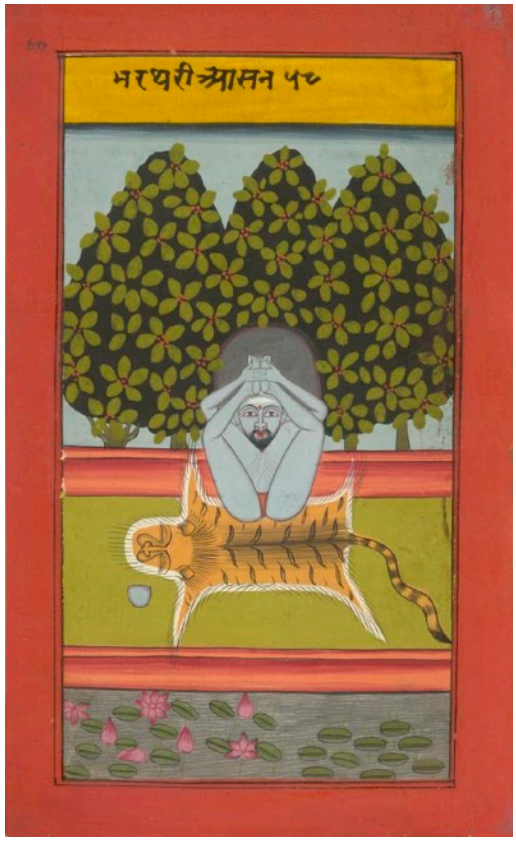

Figure 2: *Bharatharī āsana* (no. 58) of the illustrated *Jogapradīpyakā*, Add MS 24099, f. 60. © British Library Board.

[7] The scribal comment of the *Yogāsanamālā* (f. 111b) mentions *khāttīpura*, which is probably *khātīpura* located in modern-day Jaipur, Rajasthan.

[8] This location is stated by the author (*Jogapradīpyakā* 961).

[9] The location of the Punjab is Losty's assessment of the provenance of manuscript Add. 24099 (Bühnemann, 2007: 39). However, the location of composition is not explicitly stated in the manuscript. Its last known location in India was Jhansi. See footnote 4.

[10] This number is based on the assessment (outlined in footnote 21) that the *Jogapradīpyakā* and the *Yogāsanamālā* alone have sixty-nine *āsanas* with the same name or form and forty-three different *āsanas*.

Other distinguishing features of Collection A are the *āsana*s that derive from haṭhayogic *mudrā*s (for example, *mahāmudrā āsana* shown in Fig. 5, below) and those that incorporate the practice of *prāṇāyāma, bandha*, and gazing at specific points.[11] The integration of *mudrā*, *bandha*, *prāṇāyāma* and gazing points with postural practice had not been recorded in earlier literature as extensively as in the sources of this collection.

The oldest dated source for Collection A is the *Jogapradīpyakā* (1737 CE), a Brajbhasha text composed by Jayatarāma, who was a devotee of Rāma and, according to his account, a disciple of a certain Payahārī (*Jogapradīpyakā* 7). After consulting other works by Jayatarāma, Gharote (1999: 1–2) concludes that Payahārī was in fact Kṛṣṇadāsa Payahārī, the founder of the Rāmānandī lineage of Galta (near Jaipur, Rajasthan).[12] Kṛṣṇadāsa Payahārī is mentioned in hagiographic accounts of the Rāmānandī *sampradāya.* In one such account by Nābhādāsa, he is described as an ascetic who could maintain silence (*mahāmuni*) and retain his semen (*ūrdhvaretas*) (Horstmann 2002: 150–151; Bevilacqua 2018: 69). The influence of the author's ascetic milieu on the *Jogapradīpyakā*'s teaching on *āsana* is reflected by the inclusion of postures explicitly for ascetics, such as *tapakāra āsana*[13] and *yatī āsana*, and postures which are held for long periods of time, such as *paścimatāna āsana*.[14] Jayatarāma integrated these eighty-four *āsana*s into a system of yoga with eight auxiliaries and attributed health benefits to each posture.[15] Apart from the teachings of his guru, Jayatarāma reveals that his

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[11] Techniques of *prāṇāyāma* are mentioned in the instructions for *paścimatāna āsana* (*Jogapradīpyakā* 69–77), *śivā āsana* (116–119), *aghora āsana* (204–208), *vijoga āsana* (209–213), *jona āsana* (214–218), and *rudra āsana* (226–229). The application of one of three *bandha*s (i.e., *mūla*, *uḍḍiyāna*, and *jālandhara*) is required in *rūṇḍa āsana* (132–137), *andha āsana* (192–196), *kanerīpāva āsana* (258–260), etc. In some cases, the chin lock is specified without the name of the *bandha*; e.g., *phodyā āsana* (120–122), *vṛścika āsana* (156–162), etc. Also, some *āsana*s result in the mastery of certain *bandha*s; e.g., *sūrya āsana* (81–83), *gvālī pāva āsana* (256–257), *jalandharī pāva āsana* (267–269), and *bharatharī āsana* (273–274). Various gazing points, in most cases gazing at the tip of the nose or middle of the eye brows, are prescribed for the majority of the *āsana*s.

[12] Kṛṣṇadāsa Payahārī is generally ascribed to the 16th century (see, for example, Horstmann 2002). So, Jayatarāma could not have been a direct disciple.

[13] In the *Jogapradīpyakā* (179–183), *tapakāra āsana* is an inverted position requiring the use of rope. For a translation of its description, see Birch 2017.

[14] *Paścimatānāsana* (*Jogapradīpyakā* 70–78), which also requires a special diet, is practised for one hundred and sixty-eight days and is held continuously for the last eighty-four days of this period. For further details, see Birch and Hargreaves (2015). *Jona āsana* is supposed to be practised for seven days and other *āsana*s, such as *bhairū āsana* and *kapālī āsana*, for three hours.

[15] For a summary and discussion of the important health benefits and other *siddhi*s that have been attributed to these *āsana*s, see Birch 2018a: 46–47.

knowledge of yoga is indebted to works of Pātañjalayoga, Haṭhayoga, and an Upaniṣad, namely, the *Yogacūḍāmaṇi*.[16]

Most of the unique *āsana*s in the *Jogapradīpyakā* are described in an unpublished work called the *Yogāsanamālā* (1790 CE), composed by a person of the same name, Jayatarāma, who was also a devotee of Rāma but probably lived fifty or so years later than his namesake.[17] The one available manuscript of the *Yogāsanamālā* is preserved on paper and scribed in Brajbhasha. It is illustrated with simple line drawings of each *āsana.*

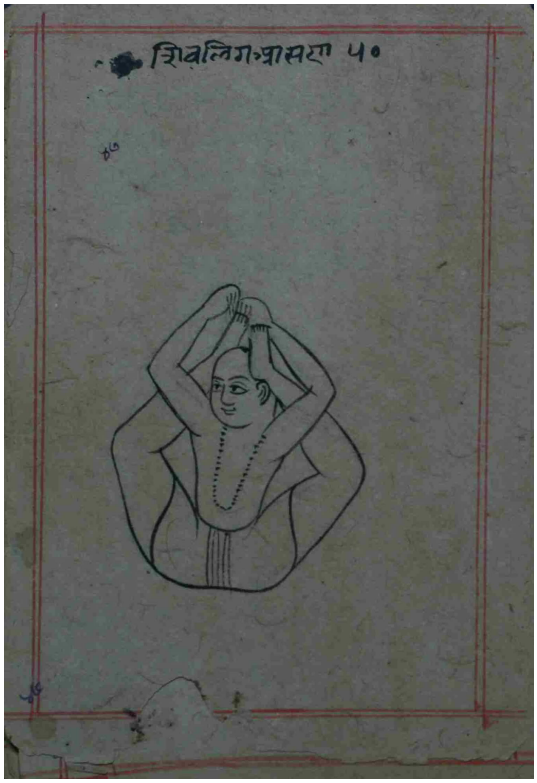

Figure 3: *Śivaliṅga āsana* (no. 50) of the *Yogāsanamālā,* Ms. no. 5450, f. 51.
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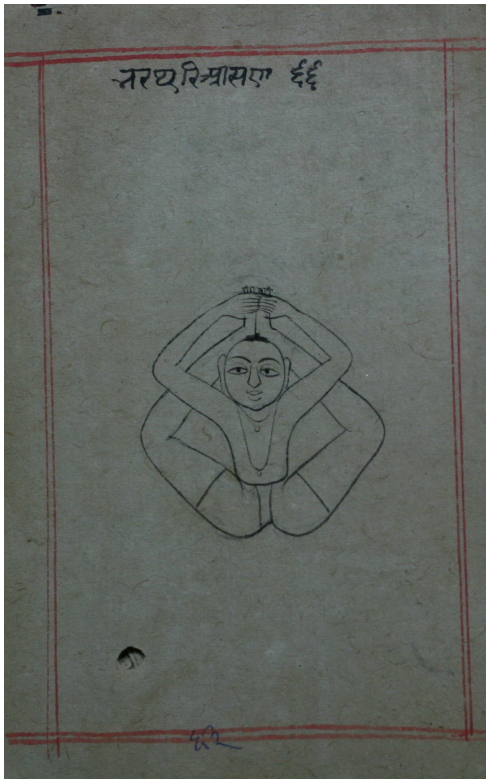

Figure 4: *Bharatharī āsana* (no. 66) of the *Yogāsanamālā*, Ms. no. 5450, f. 67.
© Rajasthān Prācya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān.

[16] *Jogapradīpyakā* 952–953 (*isa granthana kī bhāṣā joī sāra hi sāra nikāsyo soī | pātañjala joga prakāsa hī jāno cūḍāmaṇī joga nidha māno || anabhai joga prakāsa hī mānau joga saṅdhitā aise jānau | diṣaṇāmūrata saṃdhitā joī haṭha pradīpikā hai puṇi soī*). The content of these verses has been paraphrased in Maheśānanda et al. 2006: 165–166 and Gharote 1999: 31.

[17] See footnote 23.

Forty-one of its one hundred and eight *āsana*s are identical in name and form to those in the *Jogapradīpyakā* as seen, for example, if one compares Figures 1 and 2 with Figures 3 and 4, respectively (see above). Furthermore, the order of close to a third of the *āsana*s in the *Yogāsanamālā* corresponds to the *Jogapradīpyakā.*[18] Many of the corresponding postures vary in minor details. For example, *bharatharī āsana* in the illustrated *Jogapradīpyakā* is depicted with the yogi's legs in front of the arms and head (Fig. 2) whereas in the illustrated *Yogāsanamālā* the arms and head are in front of the legs (Fig. 4).[19]

However, there are also significant differences between these two sources that eliminates the likelihood of direct borrowing. Twenty-six postures have the same names but different forms, such as *mahāmudrā āsana* in Figures 5 and 6 (below),[20] and two postures have the same forms but are given different names.[21] Also, the *Jogapradīpyakā* has fifteen *āsana*s that are not in the *Yogāsanamālā*, and the *Yogāsanamālā* has twenty-eight that are not found in the *Jogapradīpyakā*.[22]

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[18] *Yogāsanamālā* 38–40, 45–48, 50–57, 59–62, 65–69, 71–74, 78–80 = *Jogapradīpyakā* 38–40, 42–66, 69–71.

[19] This level of detail is not provided by the textual descriptions of *bharatharī āsana.*

[20] The interpretation of *mahāmudrā āsana* in the *Jogapradīpyakā* is in keeping with descriptions of the bodily position of this *mudrā* in other texts. *Mahāmudrā āsana* appears to have been reinterpreted in the *Yogāsanamālā,* as seen by the illustration in Figure 6. There is no textual description of *mahāmudrā āsana* in the *Yogāsanamālā.* For examples of other *āsana*s with the same name but different forms in the *Jogapradīpyakā* and the *Yogāsanamālā*, see footnote 22.

[21] See footnote 22.

[22] Seeing that our comparison of the *āsana*s in these two texts somewhat differs from that of the editors of the *Jogapradīpyakā* (2006: 385–394), the details of our evaluation are as follows. Forty-one *āsana*s of the *Yogāsanamālā* and the *Jogapradīpyakā* have both the same name (notwithstanding variations in spelling) and form: *svastaka, padama, saptariṣi, pachimatāṇa, sūrya, gorakhājālī, anasuyā, machandra* (two variations), *jonimudrā, mayūra, kapālī, śiva, bhadragorakha, jogapada, viparītikarana, deva, kocika, brahmajurākusa, andha, joni, bodhasoka, rudra, sivaliṃga* (the hand position is slightly different), *sidhasamādhi, carapaṭacauka, gvālīpāva, kanerīpāva, hālīpāva, mīḍakīpāva, jalandharīpava, bharatharī, citra, añjanī, sāvatrī, garuḍa, nārada, jatī, kukkuṭa, kākabhusaṇḍī* and *siddha*. Twenty-six postures have the same names (notwithstanding differences in spelling) but different forms: *bhairū, mahāmudrā, para, rūṇḍa, cakrī, ātamārāma, mṛtyabhañjīka, vṛścaka, gohī, tapakāra, bhiḍoka, aghora, vijoga, bhaga, vālmīka, vyāsa, dattadigaṃbara, gopīcanda, vasiṣṭa, sukadeva, varāha, kapila, vṛsapati, pāravatī, siddhaharatālī* and *brahma*. Two *āsana*s have the same form but different names: *vajrasaṅghāra* (*varjasyandāra*) and *baddhapadma* (*vajrāsana*). The *Jogapradīpyakā* has fifteen *āsana*s that are not in the *Yogāsanamālā: netī, udara, pūrva, phodyā, mākaḍa, miśrakā, narasiṅgha, sumati, kalyāṇa, urdhapavana, masaka, anīla, kūrma, nagna* and *parasarāma*. The *Yogāsanamālā* has the following additional twenty-eight *āsana*s: *bhīsarīkā, padmamā, makara, nāgīpāva, cinakipāva, dhanatra, ghorācolī, sidhidhudhūru, śrīgaṇesa, sanakādika, durabhāsa, śibhu, garuḍa, bāṇa, kubāṇa, bālagunā, kānipāva, vairāganātha, peṭapūṭhī, sustaga kapālī, minanātha, vīchī kapālī, para* (2 variations), *sidhiḍīvī, ūddha kavala, kamala* and *santadhuna.*

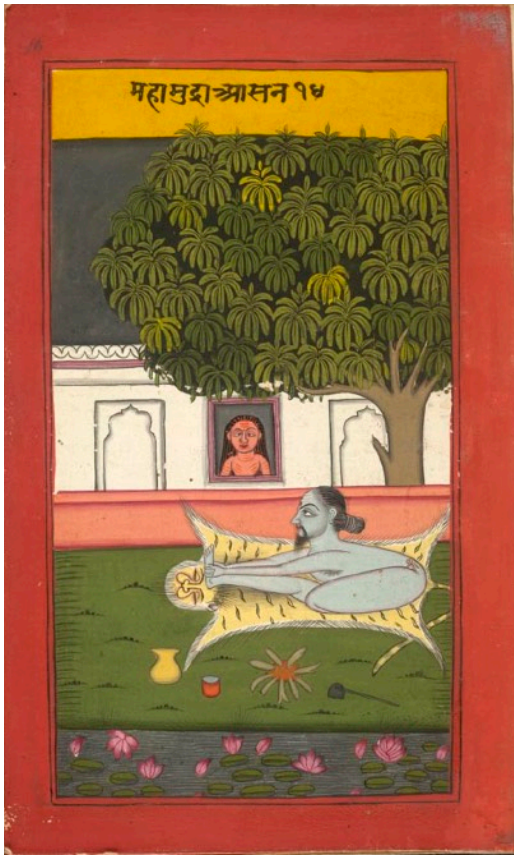

Figure 5: *Mahāmudrā āsana* (no. 14) of the illustrated *Jogapradīpyakā*, Add MS 24099, f. 16.
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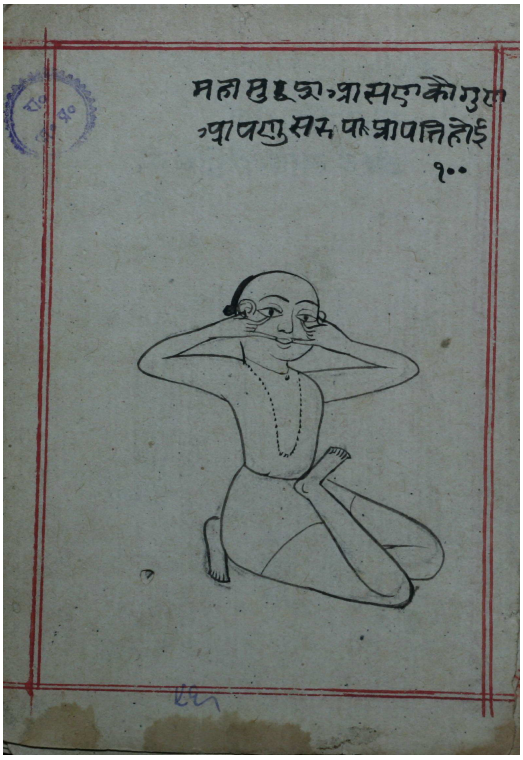

Figure 6: *Mahāmudrā āsana* (no. 100) of the *Yogāsanamālā*, Ms. no. 5450, f. 51.
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The absence of identical passages of text in *Jogapradīpyakā* and the *Yogāsanamālā* is the most notable difference between them. This difference in phrasing and the variation in name and form of some of the *āsana*s suggests that the two works were composed independently, most likely by different authors, who were documenting a collection of *āsana*s with many similar postures, names, and forms.[23] Therefore, it is possible that the similarities in the order of some postures in both works may derive from a sequence in

[23] The extensive similarities between the collections may have led Gharote (1999: 2) to believe it was possible that the *Yogāsanamālā* was composed by the same person as the *Jogapradīpyakā*. As the editors of the Kaivalyadhama edition of the *Jogapradīpyakā* (2006: 13) note, this is unlikely because there are no textual parallels in the descriptions of the *āsana*s shared by both texts. We agree with the editors of the *Jogapradīpyakā* who argue that this Jayatarāma is not the author of the *Jogapradīpyakā*. Unlike the *Jogapradīpyakā*, the author of the *Yogāsanamālā* does not name his guru. The mention of Rāma at the beginning and end of the work is the only indication, as far as we can see, of his religious affiliation. If the dates of the available manuscripts are close to the time each text was composed, then fifty years may separate them.

which yogis practised them rather than an author's borrowing from a shared textual source.

Although Collection A was documented by authors from the Rāmānandī *sampradāya*, visual evidence found in contemporaneous temple iconography demonstrates that these postures crossed sectarian divides. Yogis of the Nāth (S. *nātha*) *sampradāya* are depicted practising a significant number of the *āsana*s of Collection A on the walls of the Mahāmandir (S. *Mahāmandira*) and the Udaimandir (S. *Udaimandira*) in Jodhpur, Rajasthan. The Mahāmandir was built in 1805 CE by Mān Singh, the Mahārāja of Marwar, as a shrine to Jālandharanātha and its wall paintings date from 1810 CE (Diamond 2006: 149–154). Its distinctive square interior is lined with nineteen painted panels that each contain four or five yogis performing *āsana*s inside or outside of huts set in a luminous forest landscape.

Mahārāja Mān Singh constructed a second temple, the Udaimandir, for his guru Bhīm Nāth, in the same city in the early 1820s CE (Diamond 2006: 154 and Bühnemann 2007: 102). The vibrant wall paintings depict Nāth yogis in complex *āsana*s, a significant number of which are identical to those painted on the walls of the Mahāmandir.[24] Our study of the wall paintings of the Udaimandir has revealed that some of the images are labelled. The name of the *āsana* being practised has been written in Devanagari script above or beneath some of the yogis. Each of the labelled paintings correspond in name and form to an *āsana* of the *Jogapradīpyakā* and *Yogāsanamālā*. For example, *sūrya* (*sūrija* or *sūrajabheda*) *āsana* is described as follows in the *Jogapradīpyakā*[25] and is depicted similarly in the *Yogāsanamālā* (Fig. 7), the Mahāmandir (Fig. 8), and the Udaimandir (Fig. 9, below):

> Now, the sun posture [is taught]. Put the two heels underneath the anus, then remain steady on the spread toes. Having kept the feet under the

[24] Despite visiting the temple grounds of Udaimandir (2009, 2018), we were unable to gain access to the inner sanctum to view the murals in-person due to its repurposed use as a school. Katherine Virgils and Peter Camp kindly allowed us to view their photographs of the wall paintings at the Udaimandir that were detailed enough to allow us to read the *āsana* labels. We would like to thank Virgils and Camp for informing us that fifty-three of the *āsana*s depicted on the Mahāmandir correspond to those of the Udaimandir. Neil Greentree also kindly arranged a viewing of the murals (2019) and provided us with copies of his high-resolution photographs (published within) for our research purposes.

[25] *Jogapradīpyakā* 81–83 (*atha sūrya āsana | eḍī dou gudā tari ānai, phaṇā pāṇi baiṭhaka puni ṭhānai | goḍā jaṃgha adhara kari rahai, āḍe vāya isī vidhi gahai || dou bhujā nabha disā pasārai, kamala svarūpa aṃgurī dhārai | pauhacā madhi chidra puni ṭhānai, chidra viṣai puni driṣṭi ju ānai || vāya*] Gharote 1999; *bāma* ed.). We wish to thank Nirajan Kafle for his helpful comments on this verse.

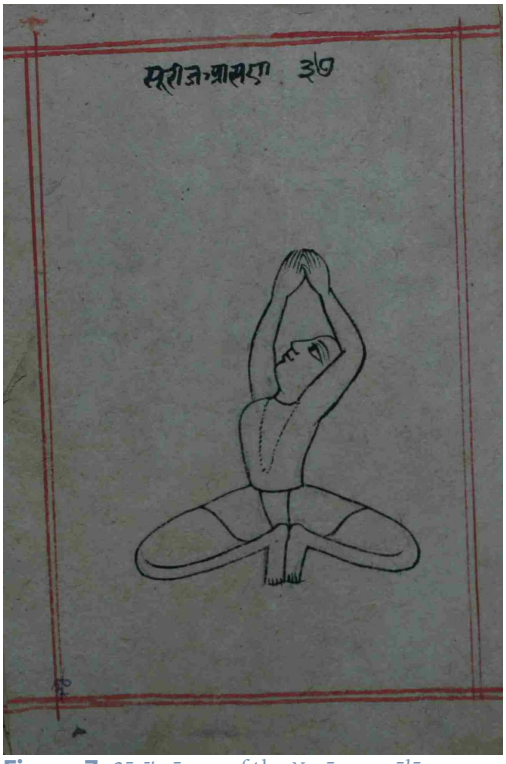

Figure 7: *Sūrīja āsana* of the *Yogāsanamālā*, Ms. no. 5450, f. 39r. © Rajasthān Prācya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān.

Figure 8: *Āsana* depicted on the wall of the Mahāmandir. Photograph by Katherine Virgils and Peter Camp, 2009.

Figure 9: *Surajabheda āsana* of the Udaimandir. Photograph by Neil Greentree, 2019.

> thighs, remain [thus]. Supporting [oneself], hold in this manner. Extend both arms upwards, and hold the fingers in the form of a lotus. Then, make a hole in the middle of the wrists, and put the gaze in the middle of that hole.

The discovery of paintings with names of the postures is highly significant because it creates the opportunity to identify the visual depiction of an *āsana* with its description in a yoga text. Reading both the material and textual evidence together enables a more comprehensive understanding of how and why yogis practised an *āsana*. Without a textual description, the context of postures in sculpture and painting is often ambiguous and liable to unsubstantiated exegesis by historians.

One such example of a painting that does not convey the sophistication of the practice is *aghora āsana*, which has been labelled as such on the wall of the Udaimandir (see Fig. 10). This posture is similarly depicted on the walls of the Mahāmandir (Fig. 11), illustrated in the *Yogāsanamālā* (Fig. 12, below), and described in the *Jogapradīpyakā* as follows:

> One should [first] follow the instructions of *miśrakā* [*āsana*], which was taught earlier,[26] taking all of the fingers to the outside of the mouth and then closing the mouth. Take the tongue back to the [soft] palate. Now the description of the preliminary procedure [is taught] according to earlier instructions.[27] Put the palm of the right [hand] on the mouth. Hold the right [side of] the nose with the thumb. Take the breath fully into the chest through the sun [channel] and hold the retention with the

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[26] The posture called *miśrakā āsana* (*Jogapradīpyakā* 197–203) is taught immediately before *aghora āsana* (*Jogapradīpyakā* 204–208). The position of the body is described as follows: "[The positions of] the heels of both feet and then the knees are explained. Keep the hands on the lower part of the thighs, support the arms and gaze in the prescribed way. Hold both heels up and then place the anus on them [...]" (*atha miśrakā āsana | dou pagāṃ kī eḍī joī goḍā phaṇā vāṇoṃ phuni hoī | goḍā jaṅgha adhara kari rāṣai āḍai vāha isī vidhi dāṣai ||* 197*|| dou yeḍī urdha hī dharai mūla dvāra tā upara karai |* 197b *vāṇoṃ*] emend. *vāṃṇoṃ* edition). The emendation is based on Gharote's edition (1999).

[27] The phase "preliminary procedure" is the translation of *ārambha kī kriyā*, which is probably a reference to the breathing practice described in the posture called *pachimatāna āsana*. This pose, which is also called *ārambha āsana* in one manuscript (*Jogapradīpyakā* 2006: 187 note 107), is taught before *aghora āsana* in the *Jogapradīpyakā* (69–77). The basic method of breathing in *pachimatāna/ārambha āsana* is described in *Jogapradīpyakā* 71 as follows: "One should breathe in for twelve counts, hold the *kumbhaka* for twelve again and breathe out for twelve through the right nostril. Place the meditative gaze on the *trikuṭī* (i.e., the space between the eyebrows)" (*dvādasa mātrā pūraka karai dvādasa hī puni kuṃbhaka dharai || recai dvādasa piṃgalā nārī rākhai trikuṭī driṣṭi vicārī*).

Figure 10: *Aghora āsana* of the Udaimandir. Photograph by Jacqueline Hargreaves, 2016.

Figure 11: *Āsana* depicted on the wall of the Mahāmandir. Photograph by Jacqueline Hargreaves, 2009.

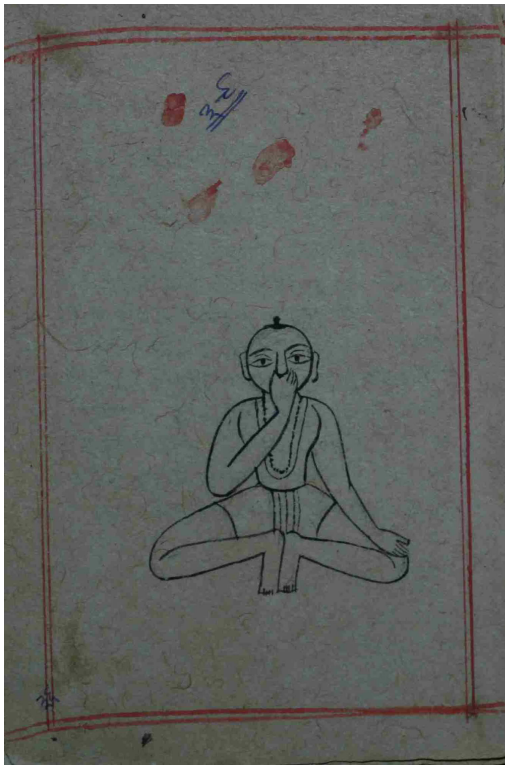

Figure 12: *Aghora āsana* of the *Yogāsanamālā*, Ms. no. 5450, f. 41*r*. © Rajasthān Prācya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān.

> count.[28] Release the air through the moon channel. Hold the body straight according to proper technique. When another breath is undertaken, then alternate each breath in this manner. When this *āsana* is done daily, the body becomes pure. *Kuṇḍalinī* and the breath pierce [the knots] and the body acquires beauty.[29]

The postures of the Mahāmandir were reproduced in two 20th-century publications, which contain line drawings of eighty-four *asanas*, as noted by Gudrun Bühnemann (2007: 85–88). In both publications, the figures are accompanied by the name of a *siddha,* and this assemblage of names is reportedly similar to a list of eighty-four *siddha*s in a *circa* 19th-century painting from Jodhpur held at the Bharat Kala Bhavan (no. 5362) in Varanasi (Bühnemann 2007: 85).[30] In this painting, which foregrounds Mān Singh worshiping Jālandharanātha in the mountains, the name of the *siddha* is written next to each figure. Each *siddha* sits within an individual dwelling in the landscape and wears ochre robes. Some have flowing matted hair (*jaṭā*) while others are adorned with the iconographic marker of the pointed cap that identifies them as members of the Nāths. However, the *siddha*s in the painting are depicted in a variety of seated postures, rather than the eighty-four complex *āsana*s of the Mahāmandir and the Udaimandir.

Although it is tempting to assume that, like the Jodhpur painting, the walls of the Mahāmandir and the Udaimandir depict eighty-four *siddha*s, a comparison of the eighty-four *siddha*s of the Jodhpur painting with the yogis performing complex *āsana*s on the walls of the temples brings to light many significant differences. Rather than ochre robes, the yogis of the temples are clad in loincloths, which is appropriate clothing for practising the complex postures depicted. Each *āsana* is quite distinct, but the same cannot be said of each yogi. A close study of the figures of the Mahāmandir reveals that the artists painted eight or so yogis performing eighty-four *āsana*s. Each

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[28] The count is probably twelve *mātrā*s (see previous footnote).

[29] *Jogapradīpyakā* 204-207 (*atha aghora āsana | pūrva kaho miśrikā joī vāhī vidhi jo kīje soī | saba aṅgurī mukha bāhari āneṃ muṣa ko phuni saṃpuṭa kari ṭhāneṃ* ||204|| *jibhā ulaṭi tālave dharai hāthā soṃ ārambha puni karai | āraṃbha kī kriyā hai joī vidhi pūrva aba varṇoṃ soī* ||205|| *dachi hathelī muṣa pari karai dachina nāsā aṅguṣṭa dharai | sūrya su vāī uri āneṃ sahita mātrā kuṃbhaka ṭhānai* ||206|| *candra nāḍi kari vāya utāre sama sarīra nīkī vidhi dhāre |* jo *dujai svara ārambha ṭhānai to saba svara vidhi ulaṭī ṭhāne* ||207|| *dohā – yahu āsana niti prati karai dehī nirmala hoya | kuṇḍalanī bhede pavana kānti lahai tana soya* ||208|| || *iti aghora āsana* || 207d *ṭhāne*] *emend. vāne* edition. 208c *bhede*] emend. : *bhaide* edition). Both emendations are based on readings in Gharote's edition (1999).

[30] This painting has not been published and we would like to thank Gudrun Bühnemann for providing us with an image of it for private use.

yogi, whether an artistic typology or actual person, can be discerned performing several postures. For example, in Figure 13a, an individual yogi can be identified by the same distinct facial features and tightly curled hair. He wears a double set of *mālā* beads, a horn (*śṛṅgī*), and green earrings (*mudrā*) whilst performing three distinct *āsana*s. Whereas in Figure 13b an individual yogi is distinguished by his short matted locks (*jaṭā*), a horn (*śṛṅgī*), white earrings (*mudrā*), and the absence of *mālā* beads.

Figure 13a: Wall paintings from the Mahāmandir with the same typology of a Nāth yogi depicted in three different *āsana*s. Photography by Jacqueline Hargreaves, 2009.

Figure 13b: Wall paintings from the Mahāmandir with the same typology of a Nāth yogi depicted in three different *āsana*s. Photography by Jacqueline Hargreaves, 2009.

Most importantly, the labels under some yogis at the Udaimandir explicitly state the name of the *āsana* and not the name of a *siddha* as seen, for example, in Figures 9 and 10.[31] Therefore, we argue that the wall paintings of the Mahāmandir and

[31] The outlines of many of the yogis depicted on the walls of the Udaimandir have been repainted. In some cases, the new paint obscures the names, thus indicating that the names have not been added in more recent times.

Udaimandir were intended to showcase a distinct collection of eighty-four *āsana*s, the canonical number mentioned in the *Jogapradīpyakā* and earlier works.[32] The Nine Nāths, including Jālandharanātha, who is often shown in compositions of devotional worship by Mān Singh (Diamond 2006), are depicted on the upper walls of the Mahāmandir and sit above, both physically and metaphorically, a collection of *āsana*s that must have been prominent enough in the Jodhpur region to warrant their portrayal on the walls of two significant temples built by the Mahārāja of the time. The textual record has preserved the names of most of the postures, the diseases cured by the practice of them, and details of the breathing and meditational techniques integral to some. When the textual and visual evidence are combined, a detailed record emerges of a collection of *āsana*s that arose from an ascetic milieu and crossed sectarian divides in the 18th century.

Collection B

The *āsana*s of Collection B have been preserved in three sources:

1. *Yogāsana* (early or mid 19th century).
2. Sanskrit descriptions quoted by Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya in his commentary on Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* (2001, first published in 1939).
3. *Caurāśī Āsana* (compiled 1897 and published 1911).[33]

The earliest dated source of this collection is the *Yogāsana*, which is a paper manuscript with vivid watercolour paintings of one hundred and eight *āsana*s, as well as seventeen Sanskrit textual descriptions and commentarial passages in Hindi and Gujarati.[34] The illustrations depict Jains performing yoga postures, some of which have names peculiar to Jainism. The practitioners can be visually identified as Jain because the artist employs such iconographic markers as small brooms (*daṇḍaproñcānaka*) and mouth covers (*mukhapaṭṭikā*) in each painting (for example, see Fig. 14, below). Examples of

[32] For references to eighty-four *āsana*s in earlier works on yoga, see Birch 2018: 107–108.

[33] Brahmacārī Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā (*Caurāśī Āsana* 1911: 10) appears to have finished compiling the content of this book at the end of the 19th century because he dates the preface at 1897. The 1911 publication does not specify whether it is a first edition, so there may be an earlier publication, which we are yet to find.

[34] This manuscript (no. 27877), which is held at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute in Bikaner, is undated, but the style of artwork may place it in the mid-19th century (p.c. Gudrun Bühnemann 30th June 2016 and 25th March 2018). Seventeen of the *āsana*s have been described in Sanskrit verse with a commentary in Hindi and, in one instance, Gujarati.

*āsana*s peculiar to Jains include *dīkṣāsana* and *kāyotsargāsana*,[35] the latter being an obligatory duty of a Jain mendicant and recommended practice for laypeople (Qvarnström and Birch 2012: 372).[36] The selection is nonetheless a compilation that includes the distinctive *āsana*s of earlier Haṭhayoga traditions, such as *siddhāsana*, *matsyendrāsana*, and *gorakṣāsana*.

Figure 15: Folio of the *Yogāsana* depicting *kāyotsargāsana* (*āsana* no. 16). © Rajasthān Prācya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Bikaner. Photograph by Jacqueline Hargreaves, 2016.

[35] For the description of *dīkṣāsana*, which involves plucking out hair, see footnote 48.

[36] The iconic ascetic standing and sitting position of Jainism, known as "casting off the body" (*kāyotsarga*), was incorporated as an *āsana* into a system of yoga by Hemacandra (12th century) in *Yogaśāstra* 4.124. Like the compiler of the *Yogāsana*, Hemacandra probably did so to satisfy his Jain audience.

Most of the *āsana*s in the *Yogāsana* correspond in substantial ways to those of the second source of Collection B. This source is a Sanskrit passage describing ninety-six *āsana*s that have been cited without attribution in a commentary on the *Yogasūtra* by Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya,[37] who was a *sannyāsin* of the Svāmināràyaṇa *sampradāya* and a prolific author of Sanskrit works in the first half of the 20th century. Of the corresponding *āsana*s in the *Yogāsana* and those quoted by Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya, forty-seven have the same name and form, and forty-three others have the same form but different names.[38] In particular, the *āsana*s of the *Yogāsana* with names peculiar to Jainism are either absent or have non-sectarian names in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's collection.[39]

The absence of Jain names in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's collection might suggest that it was created by someone who redacted the *Yogāsana* to remove all references to Jainism. However, it is unlikely that Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's collection emanates from a Jain source for two reasons. Firstly, the descriptions in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary do not parallel the Sanskrit verses in the *Yogāsana*, which are provided for seventeen of its *āsana*s. Secondly, the description of *siṃhāsana* in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary contains a reference to the yogi spreading out his matted hair (*jaṭā*).[40] Therefore, it appears that both sources derive from independent attempts to describe a distinct collection of *āsana*s, which was appropriated by a Jain sect, most probably in the 18th or early 19th century.

The third source of Collection B is a modern Hindi publication by Brahmacārī Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā, which was likely compiled in 1897.[41] Despite its title *Caurāśī Āsana* ("eighty-four *āsana*s"), it contains illustrations and descriptions of ninety-eight *āsana*s. The names and order of its *āsana*s are mostly the same as those quoted by Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya. Nonetheless, a few small but significant differences in the names

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[37] Ninety-three *āsana*s are listed by Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya (2001: 241–242). However, in the descriptions that follow, two additional *āsana*s are described, *pūrṇapādāsana* (20) and *ardhavṛkṣāsana* (29). Each description is quoted because it is followed by *iti*.

[38] For examples, see Table 1.

[39] For example, *kāyotsargāsana* in the *Yogāsana* is called *pūrṇapādāsana* in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary. Others *āsana*s specific to Jainism in the *Yogāsana*, such as *dīkṣāsana*, *svādhyāyāsana* and *vyākhyānāsana*, are absent in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary.

[40] Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya 2001: 246 (*siṃhāsanaṃ* [43] *yathā* [...] *śiraḥsthāṃ jaṭāṃ vistṛtāṃ kṛtvā sthiradṛṣṭyā yad upaveśanaṃ siṃhavad āsanaṃ tad iti*). Although there is a painting of *siṃhāsana* in the *Yogāsana* (22), there is no description of the posture.

[41] See footnote 28.

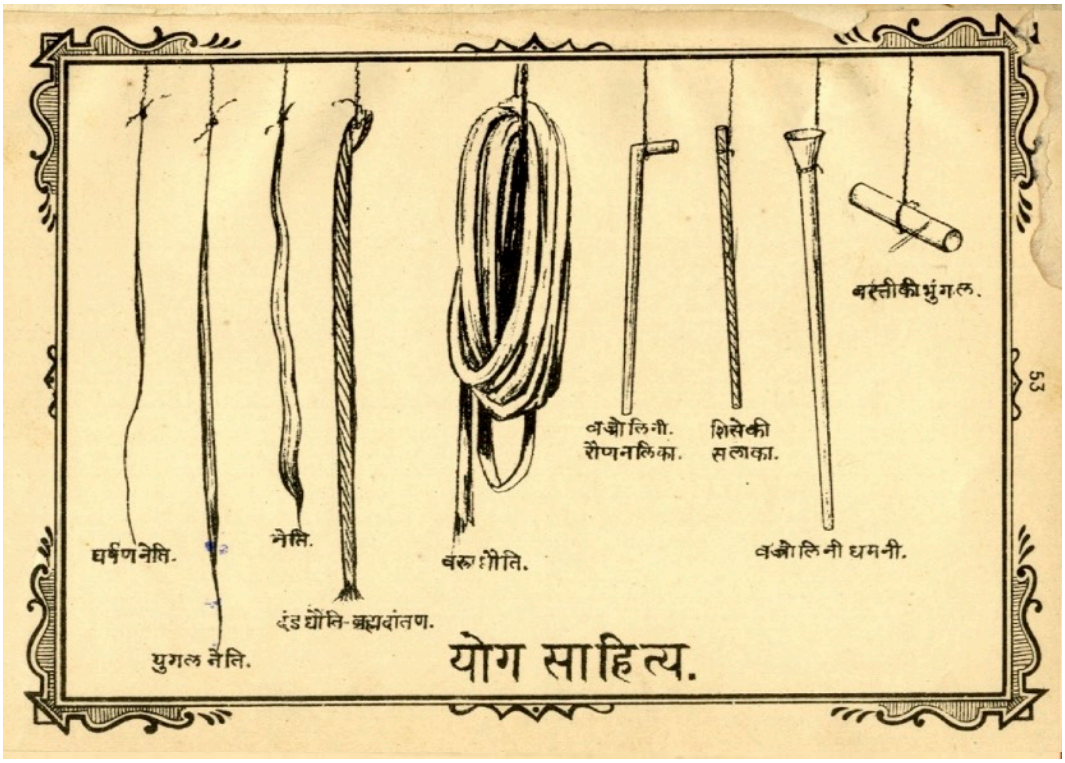

Figure 15: Illustration of yogic materials for the practice of *ṣaṭkarma* and *vajrolī*. *Caurāśī Āsana* (Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā 1911: 53).

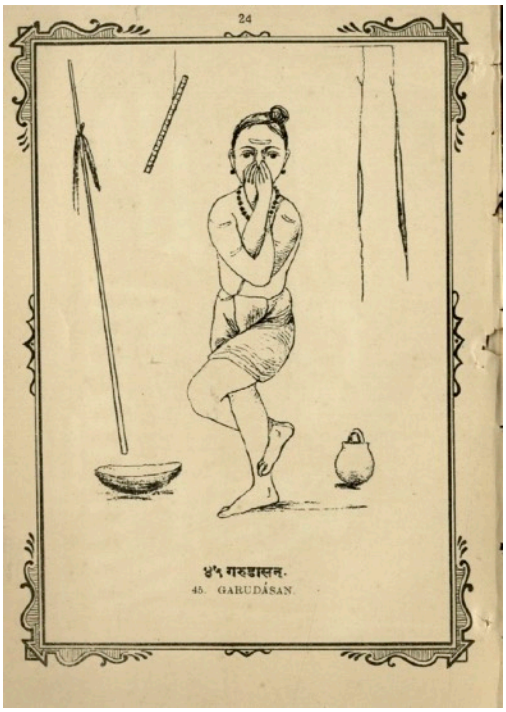

Figure 16: *Garuḍāsana* of the *Caurāśī Āsana* (Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā 1911: 24, no. 45).

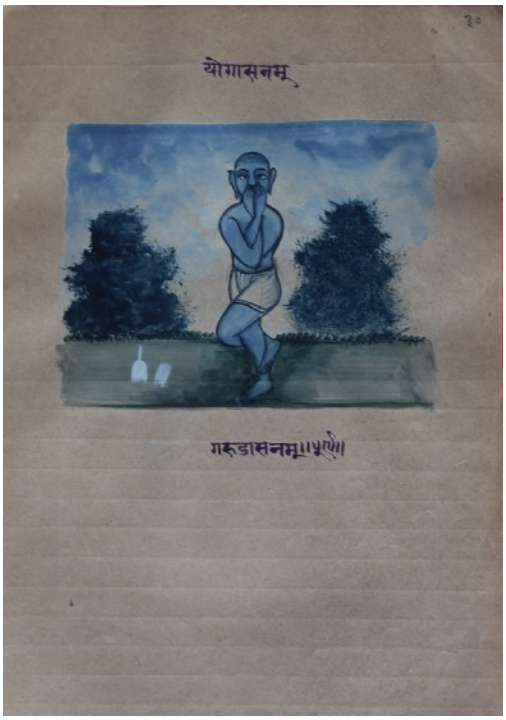

Figure 17: *Garuḍāsana* of the *Yogāsana* (*āsana* no. 59). © Rajasthān Prācya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Bikaner. Photograph by Jacqueline Hargreaves, 2016.

and descriptions of *āsana*s in both works suggest that one is not a translation of the other.[42] In other words, it is unlikely that Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā translated into Hindi the Sanskrit descriptions quoted in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary (or vice versa).

The illustrations of the *Caurāśī Āsana* depict various ascetics, most of whom appear to be from a Śaiva tradition judging by the sectarian markings on their bodies and forehead (see, for example, Fig. 16). However, a few of the illustrations have Vaiṣṇava markings, as seen in Figure 18. Each ascetic performs an *āsana* surrounded by various accoutrements, such as staffs, mats, fire tongs, water pots, and yogic instruments (Fig. 16 and 18). The tubes, threads, and cloth used for the six yogic therapeutic interventions (*ṣaṭkarma*) and *vajrolī* are illustrated separately on the last page of the *Caurāśī Āsana* (1911: 53). As far as we are aware, this is the earliest illustration of these yogic instruments (see Fig. 15).

A significant number of *āsana*s in Collection B correspond in both name and form with those of the *Caurāśī Āsana*. A conspicuous example of this is given in the illustrations of *garuḍāsana* in the *Caurāśī Āsana* and *Yogāsana* (Fig. 16 and 17, respectively), which clearly represent the textual description of *garuḍāsana* quoted by Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya. The intertwining of the arms and legs while standing on one leg and touching the nostrils with the fingers is a version of *garuḍāsana* unique to this collection and, as far as we are aware, is not found in any other premodern textual or visual work.[43]

> *Garuḍāsana* is as follows, "Stand on only the right leg, put the left leg on the right knee and shank, and touch the right ankle with the left big toe. Then, also bend both arms at the elbows and wrap the arms together as one [...], touching the left nostril with the fingers of the left hand and the

[42] Interestingly, a few names of the *āsana*s in Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā's publication agree with the *Yogāsana* rather than Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary. Examples include *vāmabhujāsana, vāmārdhapādāsana, vāmavakrāsana,* etc., in the *Yogāsana* and Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā's publication which correspond to *vāmadakṣiṇabhujāsana, vāmadakṣiṇārdhapādāsana, vāmadakṣiṇavakrāsana,* etc., in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary. Also, *vāmāṅguṣṭhāsana* is absent in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary, but it is in both the *Yogāsana* and Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā's publication. Furthermore, some details in the descriptions of *āsana*s in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary are absent in Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā's publication. For example, the reference to matted hair is absent in the latter's description of *siṃhāsana* (see footnote 36).

[43] For different versions of *garuḍāsana* in other yoga texts, see Gharote et al., 2006: 105–106. Contrary to Gharote's references (2006: 106) to the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (Ms. no. 6756) and *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, the version of *garuḍāsana* in Collection B is not found in these works nor other premodern texts.

> right nostril with the fingers of the right hand." The position like Garuḍa is *garuḍāsana*.[44]

Like *garuḍāsana*, many of the *āsana*s in Collection B are unique to it and without precedence in other yoga texts. Distinguishing features include pressing a part of the body with either the fingers or feet. For example, *pavanāsana* is described as follows:

> One who is half-standing upright on both knees should have both index fingers of the hands joined together at the region of the navel, and having very firmly pressed [them] against the hips, that is the position.[45]

Pressing part of the body is explicitly stated in the Sanskrit descriptions but this action is difficult to discern in the illustrations. Other examples of this type of "self-massage" include *dakṣiṇavāmacaturthāṃśapādāsana*, *kandapīḍanāsana*, *ūrdhvakandapīḍanāsana*, and *samānāsana*.

Also, headstand and its variations are performed with the head on the fingers, which is not, as far as we are aware, found outside of this collection (Birch 2019).[46] Given that the sources of Collection B are not widely available, we have included in Appendix 1 a comparative list of the *āsana*s in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary and the *Yogāsana.* The *āsana*s of the *Caurāśī Āsana* are included in a comparative list in Appendix 2, which will be discussed below.

The three sources of Collection B are compilations on *āsana* only, and their authors do not indicate whether the postures derive from a system of yoga with other auxiliaries, such as *yama, niyama, prāṇāyāma*, and so forth. However, some of the postures discussed

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[44] Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya 2001: 245 (*garuḍāsanaṃ yathā dakṣiṇaikapādena sthitvā vāmapādaṃ ca dakṣiṇapādasya jānūpari jaṅghopari ca kṛtvā vāmapādāṅguṣṭhena dakṣiṇapādaghuṭikāsparśanaṃ vidheyam, kiñ ca hastadvayam api kaphoṇito vakraṃ kṛtvā bhujayor ekāveṣṭanaṃ* [...] *kṛtvā vāmakāraṅgulībhir vāmanāsikāsparśanaṃ dakṣiṇakarāṅgulībhiś ca dakṣiṇanāsikāsparśanam iti tad garuḍavad vyavasthānaṃ garuḍāsanam*).

[45] Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya 2001: 250 (*pavanāsanaṃ yathā jānubhyām ūrdhvam ardhasthitasya karadvayatarjany-aṅgulyau nābhipradeśe saṃyukte bhavetām, tathā kaṭim atīvāpīḍya yad vyavasthānaṃ tad iti*).

[46] Both the illustrations and descriptions clearly indicate that the head is on the fingers, which is different to other premodern descriptions of headstand in which the head is placed on the ground and the hands at the side. For example, the following description of *vṛkṣāsana* is cited in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary (no. 28): "Having taken the fingers of both hands up on to the head, one should also place the ten fingers of the [hands] on the ground, fix the top knot of the head on them and raise up the legs, which are elongated; that is the position which is like a pillar [...]" (*hastadvayasyāpi pañcaśākhau mastakopary ūrdhvaṃ prasthāpya tatpañcaśākhadvayam api pṛthivyāṃ saṃsthāpya tadupari mastakaśikhāmaṇiṃ vinyasya pādau lambāv ūrdhvau prasārya yat stambavad vyavasthānam* [...] *tat*). For more details, see Birch 2019.

below suggest that this collection may have been associated with a type of asceticism (*tapasyā*) known in Hindi as the *caurāsī āsana* ("eighty-four *āsanas*").[47] This *tapasyā* has been described as follows by the *ūrdhvabāhu* ascetic named Prāṇ-Purī (1810: 264), who lived in the 18th century:[48]

> Chourassi-Asin [–] different postures in sitting, such as continuing several hours with the feet on the neck or under the arms; after which the members are returned to their natural positions.

It may well be that the name of this *tapasyā* (i.e., *caurāśī āsana*) had come to characterise a collection of "eighty-four" postures within ascetic milieus. Indeed, the influence of asceticism on Collection B goes beyond the artistic representations of ascetic practitioners, whether Jain, Śaiva, or Vaiṣṇava. Collection B includes some of the iconic positions of bodily asceticism, such as holding up one arm (*ūrdhvabāhu*), which is identical in form to "the pose of striking fear with the left or right hand" (*vāmadakṣiṇa-hastabhayaṅkarāsana*) of the *Caurāśī Āsana* (see Fig. 18 and 19).[49] All three sources of Collection B contain the *āsana* of standing on one leg, namely, *ardhapādāsana* ("the [standing] *āsana* in which half a leg [is bent]") or both legs, *pūrṇapādāsana* ("the [standing] *āsana* in which both legs are fully straight"). Prāṇ-Purī includes such positions in his list of *tapasyās*.[50] Collection B also contains *dhīrāsana* ("the *āsana* for the wise"), an unusual position of sitting with the fingers touching the chest, which we have not found in any premodern source outside of this collection. *Dhīrāsana* may correspond to the *tapasyā* that Prāṇ-Purī describes as remaining with the arms on the

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[47] In a translation of the orally-transmitted story of the *ūrdhvabāhu* ascetic Prāṇ-Purī (composed in 1792 and published in *The European Magazine and London Review*, vol. 57, 1810), "*chourassi-Asin*" is included in a list of eighteen *tapasyās*. The word *tapasyā* is a synonym of *tapas*, and we have adopted it here because it was the term used by Prāṇ-Purī.

[48] Prāṇ-Purī is the name given in the title of the article in *The European Magazine and London Review* (1810, vol. 57), and the alternative spelling Purana Poori is given in a footnote of the article (1810: 261).

[49] This pose is described by the same name in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary (no. 49), and is included under the name *vāmahastabhayaṃkarāsana* in the *Śrīyogakaustubha* (1979: 169) and later editions of Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas* (e.g., see 2004: 101, 103 and 108 for *dakṣiṇahastabhayaṅkarāsana*, *hastabhayaṅkar-āsana* and *vāmahastabhayaṅkarāsana*, respectively).

[50] These are *tapasyās* nos. 1 and 17 in Prāṇ-Purī's list (1810: 264–265). In Collection B, the standing *āsanas* are called *pūrṇapādāsana* ("the [standing] *āsana* in which both legs are fully straight") and *ardhapādāsana* ("the [standing] *āsana* in which half a leg [is bent]").

chest.[51] Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the ascetic context is conveyed by the reference to the practitioner's matted hair (*jaṭā*) in the description of *siṃhāsana* in both Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary and the *Caurāśī Āsana*'s Hindi description.[52] Similarly, the author of the *Yogāsana* explicitly states that the practitioner is a Jain *muni*.[53] The first posture of this text is called *dīkṣāsana* ("the posture for initiation"), which implies that initiated mendicants were the intended audience.[54]

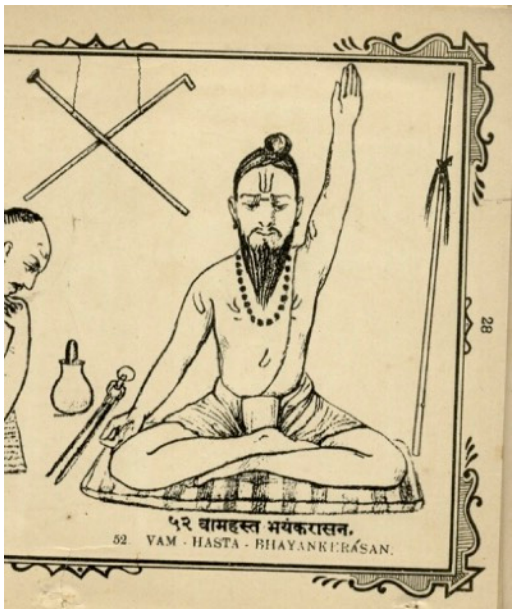

Figure 18: *Vāmahastabhayaṅkarāsana* of the *Caurāśī Āsana* (Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā 1911: 28, no. 52).

Figure 19: Detail of an ascetic practising the *tapasyā* of holding one arm raised (*ūrdhvabāhu*) from the watercolour painting "Pilgrims" (circa 1820-1830 CE). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The cumulative weight of this evidence suggests that the postures of Collection B were known in the ascetic milieus of Rajasthan in the 19th century, the likely provenance of

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[51] This is *tapasyā* no. 3 in Prāṇ-Purī's list (1810: 264–265). In Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary (no. 7), *dhīrāsana* is described as placing the tips of the hands on the chest ([...] *hastāgradvayaṃ ca svavakṣasi saṃsthāpya* [...]).

[52] On the reference to *jaṭā*, see footnote 36.

[53] In the seventeen *āsana*s that have descriptions in the *Yogāsana*, the practitioner is referred to as a *muni* (e.g., *Yogāsana*, ff. 3, 9, 11, 16 and 17).

[54] *Yogāsana,* f. 1: "Having stood under an Aśoka tree or the like, one should pluck out [one's hair] in five fistfuls. This alone is the posture for initiation. Happiness is obtained by it" (*dīkṣāsanam | aśokāder adhaḥ sthitvā pañcamuṣṭim utpāṭayet | tad evāsanaṃ dīkṣāyās tena śam upalabhyate*).

the earliest source, the *Yogāsana*.[55] If the original text from which Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya extracted the Sanskrit descriptions is identified, it may affirm further whether these *āsana*s derive from a particular tradition of asceticism. Regardless of the origin of these *āsana*s, the available evidence indicates that this postural practice moved fluidly across sectarian divides, as was the case with Collection A.

Collection C

Three works preserve the *āsana*s of Collection C:

1. *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, ms. No. 46/440 (circa 18th century)
2. Illustrated *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* of the Mysore Palace (circa 18th or early 19th century)
3. *Śrītattvanidhi* (mid 19th century)

A discussion of these texts and their manuscripts, along with a translation of the descriptions of the *āsana*s in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, can be found in Birch 2018: 129–136, 148–169 and Birch and Singleton 2019. This collection of *āsana*s was likely known in Maharashtra in the 18th century and most certainly in Karnataka by at least the mid-19th century.[56] As in the case of Collections A and B, Collection C has unique features of its own, the most notable of which are dynamic *āsana*s that require repetitive movement,[57] and sequencing that incorporates linking postures and counter-

[55] The provenance is revealed by the artistic style of watercolour paintings of the *Yogāsana*. The manuscript (Ms. no. 27877) is currently held in a library of Bikaner. A somewhat obscure comment on the front cover of Ms. no. 27877 in modern ink by a librarian seems to state that the style of painting is from Udaipur, Rājasthan: "the paintings [from] Rajasthan-Udaipur [by] brush are coloured in the usual way" (*citr - rāj. udayapur kalam sādhāraṇ raṅgīn haiṃ*). Gudrun Bühnemann believes that the style of artwork may date to the mid-19th century (p.c. 24.3.2018). We would like to thank Daniela Bevilacqua and James Mallinson for their comments on the above statement in Hindi.

[56] We do not know of a *terminus a quo* for the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*. Its *terminus ad quem* is the *Śrītattvanidhi* (on the date of which, see footnote 67). However, it is likely that the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* was composed sometime before the *Śrītattvanidhi* (for a more detailed discussion, see Birch and Singleton 2019). The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* may have been composed in Maharashtra or, at the very least, by someone who knew the language of that region because the text mentions an alternative name from this region for a Sanskrit term: *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* f. 26r, ll. 2–3: "Similar to the *jāti* sprout, the *haritaśara* by name is known in Maharashtra, etc., as *lavālā*" (*jātyaṅkurasadṛśo haritaśaraḥ nāma lavālā iti mahārāṣṭrādau prasiddhaḥ* || *jāty*] emend. : *jānty* Codex. *-dṛśo*] emend. : *-dṛśa* Codex).

[57] For examples, see Birch 2018: 134.

poses.[58] The strenuous nature of the postures is consistent with the stated aim of *āsana* in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, which is to make the yogi's body firm (*śārīradārḍhya*) and to prepare him for the six therapeutic techniques called the *ṣaṭkarma*.[59] Seeing that the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is the oldest known source for Collection C, the provenance of these *āsana*s is a system of Haṭhayoga that consists of *yama, niyama, āsana, ṣaṭkarma, prāṇāyāma* and *mudrā*, in that particular order.

True to its designation as a manual (*paddhati*) on practice (*abhyāsa*), the *Haṭhābhyāsa-paddhati* contains many details on the techniques of Haṭhayoga that are not found in other works. In contrast to sources of Collection A and B, the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* clearly identifies its system of practice as Haṭhayoga, and the influence of asceticism on Collection C is less apparent. Nonetheless, traditions of physical exercise (*vyāyāma*), and possibly martial training, may be responsible for its sequences of moving *āsana*s. An exceptional degree of strength, flexibility, and athleticism is required to accomplish its six sequences, which suggests that it was intended for a highly dedicated practitioner who had undertaken the practice in the physical prime of life.

Clear parallels have been identified between some of the *āsana*s incorporating repetitive movements, such as jumping, squatting and a series of push-up actions, with indigenous systems of physical exercise (*vyāyāma*) (Birch and Singleton 2019: 47–48). Also, one of the *āsana* sequences prescribes climbing up one or two ropes in various ways, which was probably inspired by wrestlers or soldiers who used ropes in their training.[60] As far as we are aware, such an extensive use of rope in the practice of *āsana* is not found in any other yoga text.

The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*'s section on *āsana* is not a formulation of eighty-four *āsana*s as is the case for the *Jogapradīpyakā* of Collection A, nor does it mention canonical

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[58] The names of the sequences in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* and the reasons for understanding them as such are discussed in Birch 2018: 135 and Birch and Singleton 2019.

[59] *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* f. 23r, l. 1: "When the practice of *āsana*s has brought about bodily firmness, the yogi should do the *ṣaṭkarma*" (*āsanābhyāsena śārīradārḍhye sati ṣaṭkarmāṇi kuryāt*).

[60] As Sjoman (1999: 58–59) proposes, the rope poses of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* could have been inspired by the rope component of the wrestler's practice called *mallakhamba*, which still survives in Maharastra, or a soldier's training of scaling walls with ropes and ladders. It is difficult to say whether this influence derived from exercise or martial cultures in the early modern period because they were so closely connected. As Polly O'Hanlon (2007: 494) notes, "Wrestling and its associated exercises thus became in the early modern period the indispensable accompaniment to military practice and preparation in the urban culture of military elites, in the context of the camp and the campaigning season, and in the rural societies from which peasant soldiers were drawn."

references to eighty-four *āsana*s, as suggested by the title of the *Caurāśī Āsana* in Collection B. Its author explicitly presented one hundred and twelve *āsana*s as an auxiliary in a system of Haṭhayoga. Also, neither the ascetic provenance of Collection A nor the iconic postures of *tapas* in Collection B are evident in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati.* The text distances itself from asceticism by defining the observance (*niyama*) called *tapas* as "performing one's own religious duties" (Birch and Singleton 2019: 19). Nonetheless, the *āsana*s of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* were extracted by the compiler(s) of the *Śrītattvanidhi* and presented as a collection of *āsana*s from yogic scriptures (*yogaśāstra*).[61] The fact that one of the sources of Collection C is an unillustrated notebook in rudimentary Sanskrit and another is a beautifully illustrated royal compendium commissioned by the Mahārāja of Mysore demonstrates the broad spectrum of interest in these yogic postures, which ranged from royalty to various practitioners, possibly even criminals if the author of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is to be believed (Birch 2018: 130, n. 73). Given the provenance of the surviving sources of Collection C and the absence of evidence for its existence elsewhere in India, this interest was confined to the kingdom of Mysore in the 18th and 19th century.

Collections B and C as Sources for Modern Postural Yoga

Our research has identified many of the distinct postures of Collection B in several 20th-century publications on yoga, the most notable of which is *Yoga Asanas* by Swami Sivananda (1887–1963 CE) of Rishikesh. The authors of these publications borrowed material without citing the early sources of this collection, and thus the transmission of these *āsana*s has eluded modern scholarship to date.

Sivananda wrote the book *Yoga Asanas* in English. First published in 1934, it was eventually disseminated throughout India and internationally as the Divine Life Society grew to become a global entity.[62] According to its introduction, the intention behind it was to explain eighty-four *āsana*s from *yogaśāstra*s,[63] even though eighty-six postures

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[61] *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999, plate 1): "[These] eighty yoga postures, by the measure of scriptures on yoga, should be known" (*yogāsanaṃ yogaśāstramātraṃ jñeyam aśītidhā*). The remaining *āsana*s of the *Haṭhābhyāsa-paddhati* are included in the *Śrītattvanidhi* and categorised as "other *āsana*s".

[62] On the history of the Divine Life Society, see Strauss 2005: 40–51.

[63] In the introduction, Sivananda (1934: xxiv) states: "This book 'Yoga Asanas' deals with 84 poses of the body with important *bandhas* and *mudras* and system of *pranayams*, prescribed by the *Yoga Shastras*." On a subsequent page (1934: xxvi), he mentions that Śiva knew eighty-four lakhs of *āsana*s and taught eighty-four which is mentioned in many premodern yoga works as the reason for this canonical number (Birch 2018: 107–108).

are listed in its index,[64] and subsequent editions were expanded to include the names of over two hundred and eighty postures (Armstrong 2018: 223–224).

As seen in Appendix 2, sixty-two of the eighty-six *āsana*s in the first edition of *Yoga Asanas* correspond in name or form with *āsana*s of Collection B. As far as we know, many of the postures in Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*, which are the same as those in the *Yogāsana*, Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary and the *Caurāśī Āsana,* are unique to Collection B, such as *ānandamandirāsana*, *kārmukāsana, jyeṣṭhikāsana*, and so on.

Many of the postures in Sivananda's book parallel those practised and taught by Buddha Bose and Bishnu Ghosh, two physical culturalists who pioneered and taught a set of eighty-four *āsana*s in Calcutta and abroad, as has been noted by Jerome Armstrong (2018: 224–226). Bose wrote an unpublished book called *84 Yoga Asanas* in 1938.[65] Fifty-two of the postures in it correspond to those of Collection B. Furthermore, eight of these corresponding postures are not in Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas* but are the same, or similar to, those in the *Caurāśī Āsana*.[66] One such example is Bose in Figure 20 (below), who is performing the posture labelled "Hasta Chaturkonasana." This *āsana* corresponds with the illustrations of *vāmahastacatuṣkoṇāsana* of the *Caurāśī Āsana* (Fig. 21) and *catuṣkoṇāsana* of the *Yogāsana* (Fig. 22). Therefore, it appears that Bose had access to the sources used by Sivananda and borrowed material that Sivananda chose not to incorporate into his 1934 publication. Some of Bose and Ghosh's *āsana*s were subsequently taught worldwide by Bikram Choudhury, who popularised the practice of a set sequence of twenty-six postures in a heated room (Armstrong 2018).

The accessibility and popularity of Sivananda's books, both in India and internationally, has made certain *āsana*s of Collection B, such as *sarvāṅgāsana*, *pavanamuktāsana*, and *garuḍāsana,* the global standard in both name and form for modern postural yoga. For example, the inverted posture in which the yogi's body weight rests on the shoulders and neck is known by the name *sarvāṅgāsana* in the sources of Collection B. In other

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[64] The *āsana*s are numbered 1–85 (Sivananda 1934: xiii–xiv). However, the fifty-sixth and fifty-seventh *āsana*s are both numbered 56.

[65] We wish to thank Jerome Armstrong for bringing Bose's book, which was published posthumously in 2015, to our attention.

[66] "Hasta chaturkonasana" and "pranasana" are two postures that occur in Bose's book (1938: 76 and 78, respectively) that are identical to those in the *Caurāśī Āsana* (namely, *catuṣkoṇāsana* and *prāṇāsana*), which are not found in Sivananda's book. The following six *āsana*s in Bose's book are very similar to postures in the *Caurāśī Āsana* and are also not found in Sivananda's book: "eka pada sirsasana," "ardha padasana," "ekapadangusthasana," "utthita kurmasana, sirsasana (1st phase)" and "sirsasana (2nd phase)." See Bose 1938: 186, 152, 164, 196, and 162–168, respectively.

Figure 20: Buddha Bose in "Hasta Chaturkonasana" (Bose 1938: 77, Fig. 33). © Michael Shapiro Photographs.

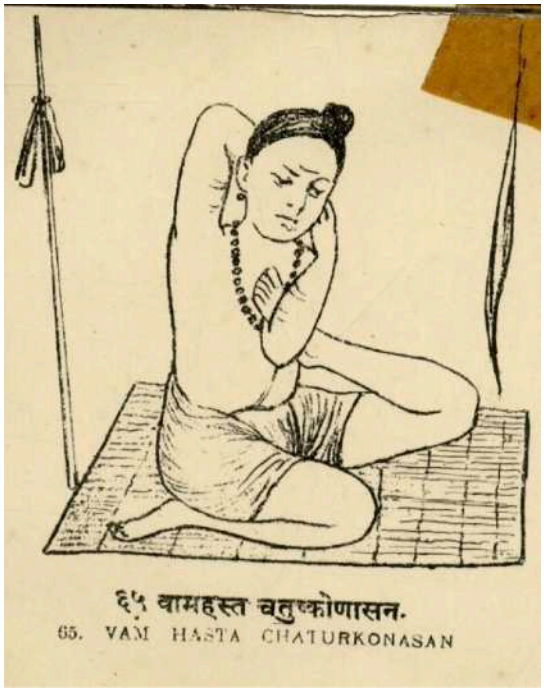

Figure 21: *Vāmahastacatuṣkoṇāsana* of the *Caurāśī Āsana* (Śrīnṛsiṃhaśarmā 1911: 35, no. 65).

Figure 22: *Catuṣkoṇāsana* (*āsana* no. 101) as depicted on a folio of the *Yogāsana*. © Rajasthān Prācya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Bikaner. Photograph by Jacqueline Hargreaves, 2016.

Figure 23: An illustration of *garuḍāsana* in Sivananda's *Yoga Āsanas* (1934: 78).

surviving premodern yoga texts, this inverted position is known by other names, such as *viparītikarana āsana* and *narakāsana*.[67] Although the practice of inverting the body has a long and complex history in premodern yoga and was explained in detail as a *mudrā* called *viparītakaraṇī* in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (3.76–3.81), the name *sarvāṅgāsana* has become ubiquitous in modern postural yoga for what is generally called "shoulderstand" in English. Another example of the continuity in the transmission of *āsana*s from Collection B to modern postural yoga can be seen by comparing the illustration of *garuḍāsana* in Figure 23 with those of Figures 16 and 17. In all other premodern works, *garuḍāsana* does not resemble the shape of *garuḍāsana* in Collection B,[68] and yet the latter standing position has become almost universal in modern postural yoga.

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[67] This inverted posture is called *viparītikarana āsana* in *Jogapradīpyakā* 164–166 (*āsana* no. 30) and *Yogāsanamālā* f. 20 (*āsana* no. 17), and *narakāsana* in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (*āsana* no. 14). It is worth noting that the arms may be placed in different supporting or raised positions but the salient feature of this inverted *āsana* is that the legs are raised up and the bodyweight rests on the neck and shoulders. Before these 18th-century works, inverting the body was known in yoga texts as a *mudrā* called *viparītakaraṇī*, rather than an *āsana*.

[68] See footnote 39.

As the table in Appendix 2 reveals, Sivananda's book *Yoga Asanas* was a compilation of material.[69] Apart from the *Caurāśī Āsana*, we know of at least two other modern vernacular publications that predate Sivananda's work and describe the majority of postures peculiar to Collection B. These publications are the *Śrīyogakaustubha* (1911)[70] and *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga* (1923).[71] It is possible that these were intermediary sources between Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas* and the 19th-century works of Collection B. In addition to the sixty-two *āsanas* shared alike by Sivananda's book and the 19th-century works of Collection B, Sivananda includes nine *āsanas* that, as far as we know, are only found in these two vernacular publications, which were both published prior to Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*.[72]

The *Śrīyogakaustubha*, written in Gujarati, describes one hundred *āsanas*, most of which correspond to *āsanas* in Collection B, albeit with small variations in name and form. Indeed, this work is related to the *Caurāśī Āsana* because the sequence of postures, particularly that of the first half, is similar in both works and also because a more recent edition of the *Śrīyogakaustubha* (1978) contains a distinct hand-drawn illustration of the implements for the *ṣaṭkarma* and *vajrolī* that is nearly identical to the illustration in the *Caurāśī Āsana* (compare Fig. 15 and Fig. 24, below). Nonetheless, slight differences in name and form between the *āsanas* described in these two publications suggest that both are likely to be redactions of an earlier, unknown source.

The *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga* is written in Marathi and describes forty-two *āsanas*, the majority of which correspond in name and form to *āsanas* in Collection B. The text covers a wide variety of topics and emphasises yoga specifically for householders. In the undated edition consulted for this chapter, eight pages of hand-drawn illustrations precede the chapter on *āsana*. It is probable that these illustrations were added from a different source and not included in earlier editions of

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[69] There are fourteen *āsanas* in Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas* for which corresponding postures are yet to be found in a work related to Collection B. Some of these were probably borrowed from elsewhere as several can be found in premodern sources not related to Collection B, such as *yoganidrāsana* in the *Haṭharatnāvalī* (3.70) and *yogāsana* in the *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* (2.45).

[70] The third edition of the *Śrīyogakaustubha* was published in 1911, so the first edition was probably published some years before this.

[71] This is the date of an edition reported in Gharote et al. 2006: lxix under the name "*Sacitra Vyavaharika Yoga*." Gharote's bibliography does not say whether this is the first edition and we have not been able to find information on the first edition from elsewhere. The edition we are using, which is called *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga*, is undated.

[72] These nine *āsanas* have been noted in the table of Appendix 2.

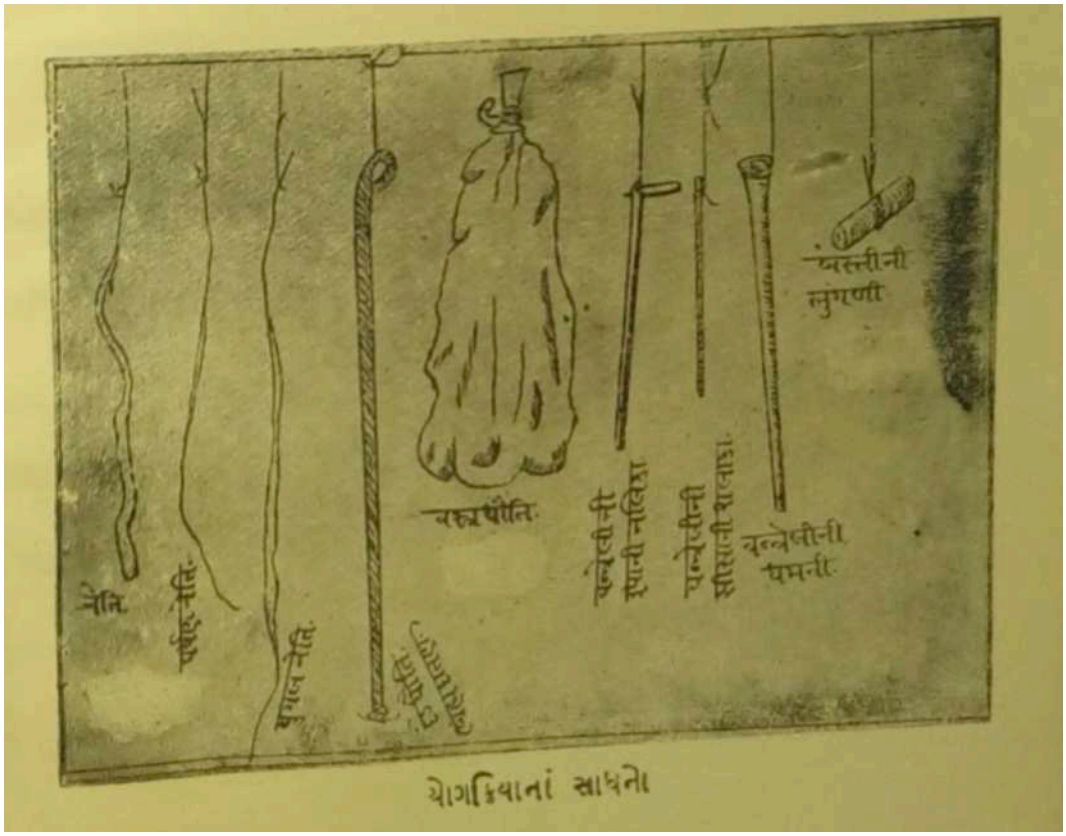

Figure 24: An illustration of yogic materials for the practice of *ṣaṭkarma* and *vajrolī* in the *Śrīyogakaustubha* (1978: Fig. 72).

the *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga* because the drawings depict a different compilation of *āsana*s and appear to have been taken from elsewhere. Confusingly, many of the *āsana*s described in the chapter have not been illustrated and several of the illustrated *āsana*s are not described. Also, there is at least one instance where the illustration of an *āsana* (e.g., *trikoṇāsana*) differs entirely from its description.

Given the number of languages in which these modern publications were written (i.e., Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, and English), one can infer that Collection B was widely disseminated in print throughout northern and central India by the mid 20th century and, in some cases, integrated into broader systems of yoga.[73] Indeed, the dissemination of this collection in printed vernacular sources represents a significant shift in the demographic of its practitioners, from ascetics to householders, and demonstrates that these *āsana*s were no longer the sole domain of religious groups by early 20th century India.

[73] Both the *Śrīyogakaustubha* and *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga* include a wide array of topics on yoga practice, such as *yama, niyama, prāṇāyāma*, meditation, therapy, etc.

Although Sivananda does not explicitly cite his sources, in the introduction (1934: xxx) he mentions several contemporary authors who had written books on *āsana*, such as Swami Kuvalayananda, Sriyogendra, and Srisundaram, and draws his reader's attention to what he called the "great revival of yogic system of Asanas." As Joseph Alter (2004), Mark Singleton (2010), and Elliot Goldberg (2016) have argued, the authors mentioned by Sivananda, in particular Swami Kuvalayananda, aimed at modernising the practice of *āsana*s for secular purposes. Their early books foreground science and physical culture, universalise the practice, and place less emphasis on acknowledging material borrowed from premodern yoga traditions. This process of modernising the practice for householders is apparent in older vernacular works, such as the *Śrīyogakaustubha* and *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga*. Sivananda appears to have embraced this approach and the influence of these authors on his work is apparent. While it is likely that further research into older vernacular works will reveal the sources of the *āsana*s known to Kuvalayananda, Sriyogendra, and Srisundaram, it remains to be seen whether the line of transmission will be as clear as in the case of Sivananda and Collection B, for in his books Sivananda foregrounded traditional yogic lore and issues relevant to *sannyāsin*s, such as celibacy, to a greater extent than his contemporaries. Furthermore, the international dissemination of Sivananda's yoga, which was unparalleled among those at the vanguard of the so-called great revival of *āsana*s, ultimately ensured that postures from older vernacular works, like the *Caurāśī Āsana*, became a significant component of modern postural yoga by the latter half of the 20th century.

In contrast to Sivananda's wholesale borrowing of Collection B, Krishnamacharya partially borrowed and, perhaps more significantly for the development of flowing styles of modern postural yoga, drew considerable inspiration from Collection C. In the early 19th century the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*'s system of yoga had become prominent enough to come to the attention of the royal family of Mysore. Śrīmummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja Waḍiyar III used the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* as the source for a chapter on *āsana*s in the seventh book (the *śaivanidhi*) of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, which was probably composed in the 1850s.[74] The *Śrītattvanidhi*'s chapter on *āsana* was known to Krishnamacharya, who taught yoga at the Mysore Palace during the 1930s and 1940s.[75] In addition, it is highly likely he knew the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* because an illustrated manuscript of this work,

[74] The *Śaivanidhi* of the *Śrītattvanidhi* was probably composed after the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* was completed in 1849 and before the Mahārāja's death in 1868. According to a note in the descriptive catalogue of the Oriental Research Institute, the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* was completed on Thursday, 29th March 1849 CE (see Malleddevaru 1987: 462–463).

[75] Krishnamacharya cites the *Śrītattvanidhi* as a source text at the beginning of his book *Yogamakaranda* (see Singleton 2010: 222, n. 7).

which was used by the redactors of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, exists in the royal collection of the Mysore Palace.[76]

There are many similarities between Krishnamacharya's postural practice and that of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati,* such as an emphasis on movement, arm balances, and linking postures. However, his borrowing is rarely direct. Only a handful of the *āsana*s unique to the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* occur in Krishnamacharya's publications with the same names, although there are many more postures with the same form but different names (Birch and Singleton 2019: 60–64).[77] Therefore, it appears that Collection C was instrumental in the development of postural practice at the Mysore Palace in the mid-19th century and an inspiration for Krishnamacharya, whose teachings have been transmitted to an international audience by several of his students, including his son T. K. V. Desikachar.

As much as Krishnamacharya foregrounded the *Yogasūtra* in his publications, he understated his indebtedness to Haṭhayoga, and the sources of his postural practice remain obscure. He does not mention the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* in any of his publications. Moreover, the *Yogakorunta*, an ancient text which he and his family have claimed was a source for his Vinyasa system, has not been located (Birch and Singleton 2019: 51–56). One can only speculate that, as a man of tradition and master of Sanskrit and the six *darśana*s (Desikachar and Cravens 2013: 38–40), Krishnamacharya may have preferred to avoid the prospect of having to explain to his students the many differences in his teachings on *āsana* and those of texts like the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati.* Therefore, in this respect, he concealed his innovative synthesis of postural practice by embedding it within a Brahmanic discourse on yoga.

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[76] We are most grateful to Norman Sjoman for sharing his personal collection of photographic slides (photographed in 1985 at the Mysore Palace) that capture of part of an unpublished illustrated manuscript on yoga. The sequence of its *āsana*s and a half folio of text have enabled us to identify this work as the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*. The fact that this manuscript exists in the Mysore Palace archives makes it likely that Krishnamacharya knew of it. Nonetheless, it is almost certain that he knew the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* because his family possesses a booklet of illustrations of *āsana*s that are identical to those of the *Śrītattvanidhi* and the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati,* and many of these *āsana*s are in the same order as those of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (Jacqueline Hargreaves, forthcoming 2023).

[77] Variations in the names of postures are as apparent among premodern collections of *āsana*s as among modern schools of different lineages. In fact, the correspondence in name and form of such a large portion of the *āsana*s in Sivananda's book with several earlier sources (discussed above) is an exception. The syncretic nature of most premodern works on yoga suggests that Krishnamacharya's tacit borrowing and refashioning of certain features of the postural practice of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (Birch and Singleton 2019: 60–64), which he synthesised with other *āsana*s and exercises prevalent at his time, is probably more typical of how teachings on yoga have been formulated in India throughout the centuries.

Conclusion

A close study of precolonial yoga manuals in Sanskrit and various vernacular languages has enabled us to classify three collections of *āsana*s and to trace their paths across sectarian, linguistic, and continental divides. Each collection has its own unique features and history. Collection A may have originally developed as an auxiliary of yoga in the Rāmānandī order and then circulated in other ascetic milieus of North India. Its postures were attributed with numerous benefits, ranging from purifying the body and healing specific diseases to achieving certain yogic attainments, such as raising *kuṇḍalinī* and inducing *samādhi*.[78] Collection B may derive from a tradition of *tapasyā* or, at the very least, it absorbed the iconic postures of *tapasyā*. It too circulated in various ascetic milieus of North India, including that of the Jains, in the 19th century, but later became integral to modern postural yoga through the efforts of several Indian gurus who transmitted their teachings globally. The names and forms of many *āsana*s in Collection B are now common among the various styles of modern postural yoga. Collection C arose from a tradition of Haṭhayoga that became prominent at the Mysore Palace in the 19th century. Its sequential and dynamic postural practice was influenced by India's traditions of physical culture, such as wrestling. Through the teachings of Krishnamacharya and his students, it has inspired flowing styles of modern postural yoga.

Collections A and C transitioned from traditional networks of yogis to royal courts, which demonstrates that *āsana*s could traverse different social landscapes. This transition also changed the medium in which the *āsana*s were documented. Initially both collections were preserved in manuscripts and later in temple murals and illustrated compendiums through the patronage of kings. *Āsana*s of Collections B and C moved beyond the national borders of India when they were disseminated to global household audiences via printed books and gurus who taught foreign students and established multinational organisations. Although the social environments, doctrinal contexts, and the collections themselves changed over the time, the names and forms of many *āsana*s endured.

This study further demonstrates that vernacular works on yoga are likely to have been an essential source of information for Swami Sivananda and his disciples, as well as

[78] At the beginning of the section on eighty-four postures in the *Jogapradīpyakā* (49), the following general statement on the role of *āsana* is made: "First, one should practise *āsana*. Having sat, one should hold [the position] steadily. Jayatarāma [says] then the body naturally becomes pure" (*prathamahi āsana sādhiye baiṭhake dhārai dhīra | jayatarāma taba sahaja hī nirmala hoya sarīra*). For an overview of the more specific attainments of *āsana*s in the *Jogapradīpyakā*, see Birch 2018: 46–47.

other 20th-century Indian teachers of *āsana*s, such as Buddha Bose and Bishnu Ghosh.[79] The authors of these vernacular works appear well-versed in earlier, premodern Sanskrit texts, as well as the yoga techniques practised during their time. Many of these authors foregrounded premodern teachings on yoga while also adopting modern notions of anatomy, physiology, disease, fitness, and so on.[80] The foregrounding of premodern teachings was largely lost in the English publications of gurus who spearheaded what Sivananda called the "great revival" of *āsana*s. Although these English publications do not cite their textual or oral sources, large regional collections of complex *āsana*s that were practised by yogis in the 18th and 19th centuries contributed significantly to the formation of modern postural yoga.

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Appendix 1

Table 1 lists and compares two of the sources for Collection B, namely the *āsana*s cited in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary with those of the *Yogāsana*. The names of the *āsana*s have been listed in the order in which they appear in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's

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[79] Further research on 19th-century vernacular texts will no doubt reveal more of the influence of modernity on Indian yoga, as well as that of the legacy inherited by those gurus who formulated physical yoga for the English-speaking world.

[80] For example, the *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga* contains passages on anatomy and physiology with general references to glands, nerves and carbonic acid gas as well as female anatomy, such as the cervix and ovaries. It also discusses diabetes (*madhumeha*), exercise (*vyāyāma*) and therapy (*cikitsā*).

commentary.[81] The *āsana*s of the *Yogāsana* that correspond in form (and not necessarily name) have been listed accordingly. This is not the order in which they occur in the *Yogāsana* manuscript. The six *āsana*s of Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary that do not correspond to an *āsana* in the *Yogāsana* are indicated by "[no match]." Those of the *Yogāsana* that are not found in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary have been placed separately in Table 2.

Table 1: A Comparison between the *Āsana*s of Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's Commentary and the *Yogāsana*.

No.	Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's Commentary	*Yogāsana*
1	padmāsana	padmāsana
2	siddhāsana	siddhāsana
3	baddhapadmāsana	baddhapadmāsana
4	dṛḍhāsana	dakṣināsana[a]
5	vīrāsana	vīrāsana
6	pavanamuktāsana	pavanamuktāsana
7	vāmapādapavanamuktāsana	dakṣiṇaṅghripavanamuktāsana[b]
8	dhīrāsana	dhīrāsana
9	dakṣiṇapādapavanamuktāsana	dakṣiṇaṅghripavanamuktāsana
10	vāmadakṣiṇaśvāsagamanāsana	śvāsagatyāsana
11	paścimatānāsana	paścimatānāsana
12	vātāyanāsana	gavākṣāsana
13	mayūrāsana	mayūrāsana
14	matsyendrāsana	matsyendrāsana
15	ardhapadmāsana	[no match]
16	kukkuṭāsana	kukkuṭāsana

[81] The numbering in column one corresponds to the order in which these *āsana*s appear in Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary. However, the published edition of this commentary groups certain *āsana*s that the editor considered to be variations of one postures. For example, the name and description of *ardhavṛkṣāsana* has been added to *vṛkṣāsana*. In the *Yogāsana*, *vṛkṣāsana* and *ardhavṛkṣāsana* are numbered separately.

No.	Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's Commentary	*Yogāsana*
17	gorakṣāsana	gorakṣāsana
18	bhadrāsana	bhadrāsana
19	ūrdhvapadmāsana	ūrdhvapadmāsana
20	ardhapādāsana	ekapādāsana
21	pūrṇapādāsana	kāyotsargāsana
22	dakṣiṇāsana	dakṣiṇāsana
23	śavāsana	śavāsana
24	makarāsana	adhvāsana
25	vāmadakṣiṇapādāsana	vāmaśuddhapādāsana
26	dhanurāsana	dhanurāsana
27	dakṣiṇapādamastakāsana	dakṣiṇapādamastakāsana
28	dvipādamastakāsana	sthiragudāpādaśirāsanam
29	sthirāsana	sthirāsana
30	vṛkṣāsana	vṛkṣāsana
31	ardhavṛkṣāsana	ardhavṛkṣāsana
32	cakrāsana	cakrāsana
33	tāḍāsana	tāḍāsana
34	dakṣiṇavāmacaturthāṃśapādāsana	dakṣiṇāmśapādāsana
35	ūrdhvadhanurāsana	ūrdhvadhanurāsana
36	vāmadakṣiṇasiddhāsana	vāmasiddhāsana
37	svastikāsana	svastikāsana
38	sthitavivekāsana	nivṛtyāsana
39	utthitavivekāsana	paṅjhāsana
40	dakṣiṇavāmatarkāsana	udāsīnatāsana
41	pūrvatarkāsana	ātmalīnāsana
42	niḥśvāsāsana	niḥśvāsāsana
43	ardhakūrmāsana	ardhakūrmāsana

No.	Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's Commentary	*Yogāsana*
44	garuḍāsana	garuḍāsana
45	siṃhāsana	siṃhāsana
46	trikoṇāsana	vāmatrikoṇāsana[c]
47	prārthanāsana	devaguruvandanāsana
48	dakṣiṇapādavāmapādatrikoṇāsana	trikoṇāsana
49	pūrṇapādatrikoṇāsana	pūrṇapādatrikoṇāsana
50	vāmadakṣiṇabhujāsana	vāmabhujāsana
51	vāmadakṣiṇahastabhayaṅkarāsana	sthitātāpanāsana[d]
52	aṅguṣṭhāsana	aṅguṣṭhāsana
53	utkaṭāsana	vakrāsana
54	yaṣṭikāsana	śuddhādhvāsana
55	vāmadakṣiṇārdhapādāsana	vāmārdhapādāsana
56	hastabhujāsana	bhujāsana
57	vāmadakṣiṇavakrāsana	vāmavakrāsana
58	vāmadakṣiṇajānvāsana	[no match]
59	vāmadakṣiṇaśākhāsana	vāmaśākhāsana
60	tristambhāsana	ūruparvāsana
61	vāmadakṣiṇapādāpānagamanāsana	apānagamanāsana
62	vāmahastacatuṣkoṇāsana	catuṣkoṇāsanam
63	kūrmāsana	kūrmāsana
64	garbhāsana	garbhāsana
65	ekapādavṛkṣāsana	ardhāṅghrivṛkṣāsana
66	muktahastavṛkṣāsana	pāṇimuktadrumāsanam
67	hastavṛkṣāsana	vṛkṣasana
68	dvipādapārśvāsana	dvipādapārśvāsana
69	kandapīḍanāsana	[no match]
70	ūrdhvakandapīḍanāsana	kandapajayāsana

No.	Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's Commentary	*Yogāsana*
71	prauḍhāsana	paṇḍitāsana
72	upadhānāsana	upadhānāsana
73	ūrdhvasaṃyuktapādāsana	ūrdhvasaṃyuktapādāsana
74	ardhaśavāsana	ardhaśavāsana
75	apānāsana	apānagamanāsana
76	yonyāsana	bhāgāsana
77	maṇḍūkāsana	maṇḍūkāsana
78	parvatāsana	parvatāsana
79	kokilāsana	kokilāsana
80	śalabhāsana	pataṅgāsana
81	lolāsana	cañcalāsana
82	uṣṭrāsana	dvikakudāsanam
83	haṃsāsana	sarālāsana
84	prāṇāsana	prāṇāsana
85	kārmukāsana	kārmukāsana
86	ānandamandirāsana	ānandamandirāsana
87	khañjanāsana	khañjanāsana
88	kṣemāsana	[no match]
89	granthibhedanāsana	granthiharāsana
90	sarvāṅgāsana	sarvāṅgāsana
91	samānāsana	samānāsana
92	bhujaṅgāsana	bhujaṅgāsana
93	matsyāsana	matsyāsana
94	pavanāsana	pavanāsana
95	krauñcāsana	[no match]
96	hastiniṣadana	[no match]
Total	96	90

[a] *Dṛḍhāsana* and *dakṣiṇāsana* are very similar. The difference is that *dṛḍhāsana* is done on the left side of the body and *dakṣiṇāsana* on the right.

[b] The *Yogāsana* only depicts this posture on the right side, but it is nonetheless the same.

[c] *Trikoṇāsana* has each hand placed on its respective cheek, whereas *vāmatrikoṇāsana* has only the left hand on the left cheek. Otherwise, the postures are the same.

[d] *Sthitātāpanāsana* is a seated posture in which both arms are raised, whereas *vāmadakṣiṇahastabhayaṃkarāsana* is described as two seated postures, one with the left arm raised and the other with the right arm raised.

Table 2: A Comparison between the *Āsana*s of Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's Commentary and the *Yogāsana*: The Distinct *Āsana*s of the *Yogāsana*.

No.	*Yogāsana*
1	dīkṣāsana
2	svādhyāyāsana
3	pañcāṅganamaskārāsana
4	nāgendrāsana
5	mārajidāsana
6	dakṣiṇacaturāṃśapādāsana
7	saṅkocāsana
8	catuṣkoṇāsana
9	saṃstārakāsana
10	vyākhyānāsana
11	upadhānāsana
12	sthirāṅguṣṭhāsana
13	bhujāṅgāsanam
14	śramaharāsana
15	hastāsana
16	pataṅgāsanam
17	utkaṭāsana
18	apānāsana
Total	108

Appendix 2

Table 3 lists and compares the *āsana*s in Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas* (1934) with those of the *Yogāsana* (YĀ), Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary (ŚC) and the *Caurāśī Āsana* (CĀ). The names of the *āsana*s have been listed in the order in which they appear in Sivananda 1934: xiii–xiv. We have added diacritic marks to their names so that spelling is consistent with Tables 1 and 2, and we have noted in brackets irregular spellings. Alternative names have been noted in round brackets next to each source. In some cases where an *āsana* does not correspond to the YĀ, ŚC, and CĀ, we have provided the corresponding *āsana* in two earlier works, the *Sacitra Vyāvahārika Yoga athavā Samādhi-Mārga* (ŚVY) and the *Śrīyogakaustubha* (ŚYK), which are discussed in the main part of this chapter. Also, when it is relevant to Collection B, we have noted where Sivananda gives an alternative name for a posture, such as *vṛkṣāsana* for *śīrṣāsana* (1934: 30).

Table 3: A comparison between the *āsana*s in Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas* (1934) with those of the *Yogāsana* (YĀ), Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya's commentary (ŚC) and the *Caurāśī Āsana* (CĀ).

No.	Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*	Corresponding *āsana*s in YĀ, ŚC and CĀ
1	adhvāsana	YĀ, ŚC (makarāsana), CĀ
2	ākarshaṇadhanurāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (dhanurāsana in all three)
3	ānandamandirāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
4	aṅguṣṭhāsana	ŚYK
5	ardhakūrmāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
6	ardhamatsyendrāsana	ŚVY
7	ardhapādāsana	YĀ (ekapādāsana), ŚC, CĀ
8	ardhapadmāsana	ŚC, CĀ
9	ardhaśavāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
10	ardhavṛkṣāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
11	baddhapadmāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
12	baddhayonyāsana (spelt baddhayoniasana)	YĀ (bhāgāsana), ŚC (yonyāsana), CĀ (yonyāsana)
13	bhadrāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ

No.	Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*	Corresponding *āsanas* in YĀ, ŚC and CĀ
14	bhairavāsana	[no match]
15	bhujaṅgāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
16	cakrāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (ūrdhvadhanurāsana in all three)
17	dakṣiṇajānvāsana (spelt dakshina janyasana)	ŚC, CĀ
18	dakṣinapavanamuktāsana	YĀ (dakṣiṇaṅghripavanamuktāsana), ŚC (vāmapādapavanamuktāsana), CĀ (vāmapādapavanamuktāsana and dakṣiṇapādapavanamuktāsana)
19	dhanurāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
20	ekapādavṛkṣāsana	YĀ (ardhāṅghrivṛkṣāsana), ŚC, CĀ
21	garbhāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
22	garuḍāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
23	gokilāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (kokilāsana in all three)
24	gomukhāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
25	gorakṣāsana[e]	[no match]
26	guptāsana	[no match]
27	halāsana	[no match]
28	haṃsāsana	YĀ (sarālāsana), ŚC, CĀ
29	hastapādāṅguṣṭhāsana (or pādahastāṅguṣṭhāsana)	ŚYK (hastapādāṅguṣṭhāsana)
30	hastavṛkṣāsana	YĀ (vṛkṣāsana), ŚC, CĀ
31	jānuśīrṣāsana	[no match]
32	jeṣṭhikāsana	YĀ (śuddhādhvāsana), ŚC (yaṣṭikāsana), CĀ (jyeṣṭhikāsana)
33	kapālāsana (spelt kapiliasana. Sivananda states that this pose is also called vṛkṣāsana)	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (vṛkṣāsana)
34	kāmadahanāsana	[no match]

No.	Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*	Corresponding *āsanas* in YĀ, ŚC and CĀ
35	kandapīḍanāsana (spelt: kandapitanasana)	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (gorakṣāsana in all three)
36	kārmukāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
37	karṇapīḍāsana (spelt karnapitasana)	[no match]
38	kṣemāsana	ŚC, CĀ
39	kūrmāsana	CĀ
40	kukkuṭāsana (spelt: kukutasana)	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
41	lolāsana	YĀ (cañcalāsana), ŚC, CĀ
42	makarāsana	ŚYK
43	maṇḍūkāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
44	matsyāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
45	matsyendrāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
46	mayūrāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
47	muktahastavṛkṣāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
48	muktāsana	[no match]
49	ūrdhvapādāsana (spelt oordva padasana)	[no match]
50	ūrdhvapadmāsana (spelt oordva padmasana)	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
51	pādadhīrāsana (spelt padadirasana)	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (dhīrāsana in all three)
52	pādahastāsana	CĀ (vāmadakṣinapādāsana)
53	padmāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
54	parvatāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
55	paścimottānāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
56	pavanamuktāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
57	pūrṇapādāsana	YĀ (kāyotsargāsana), ŚC, CĀ

No.	Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*	Corresponding *āsanas* in YĀ, ŚC and CĀ
58	śalabhāsana	YĀ (pataṅgāsana), ŚC, CĀ
59	samāsana	[no match]
60	saṅkaṭāsana	ŚYK
61	sarvāṅgāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
62	śaśāṅgāsana	[no match]
63	śavāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
64	siddhāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
65	siṃhāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
66	śīrṣāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (vṛkṣāsana in all three)
67	sthirāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
68	sukhāsana	[no match]
69	suptavajrāsana	ŚYK
70	svastikāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
71	tāḍāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
72	tolāṅgulāsana	ŚYK
73	trikoṇāsana	[no match]
74	vajrāsana	ŚVY
75	vāmajānvāsana (spelt vama janyasana)	ŚC, CĀ
76	vāmapavanamuktāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
77	vātāyanāsana	YĀ (gavākṣāsana), ŚC, CĀ
78	vīrāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
79	vṛścikāsana	ŚYK
80	vṛkṣāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ (both vṛkṣāsana and tāḍāsana in all three)
81	uṣṭrāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
82	utkaṭāsana	YĀ (vakrāsana), ŚC, CĀ

No.	Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*	Corresponding *āsanas* in YĀ, ŚC and CĀ
83	uttānakūrmāsana	YĀ, ŚC, CĀ
84	utthitavivekāsana (spelt: uttida vivekasana)	YĀ (paṅjhāsana), ŚC, CĀ
85	yoganidrāsana	[no match]
86	yogāsana	[no match]

[e] We are not sure of the shape of *gorakṣāsana* being described by Sivananda in *Yoga Asanas* (1934: 126). The *gorakṣāsana* of the *Yogāsana*, etc., is the same as *kandapīḍanāsana* in Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas*.

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